THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF PAKISTAN AND ITS PEOPLE

by
AHMED ABDULLA

Publishers' Note:

The book now being introduced by us under the title "The Historical Background of Pakistan and its People" is an attempt at describing briefly the history, heritage, racial stock and the political and cultural role of the people inhabiting this country from the time of Indus Valley Civilization in 2,500 *B.C. to the present day, covering a period of about* 4,500 *years.*

This new book on Pakistan is the first attempt to portray its history as distinct from India and to delineate the Pakistani nation as possessing a personality of its own—vigorous and virile, buoyant and bellicose, poised for a marked role in the comity of nations.

It highlights certain aspects which have so far been neglected; discusses the reasons for the strange phenomena of Muslims forming majority in the eastern and western wings of this sub-continent and the attitude of Hindu religion towards the people living in these wings: the Indus Valley (Pakistan) and the Padma-Meghna Delta (Bangla Desh).

The role of the sufis; the difference between the attitude of the the converted Muslims and those who came from outside; an analysis of the so-called four nationalities concept, and the historical, political and strategic importance of Islamabad/Taxila have also been narrated.

We feel that "The Historical Background of Pakistan and its People" should go a long way in acquainting the educated people with the continuity of history of this country, and the common stock of its people.

The author, Mr. Ahmed Abdulla, is an M.A. in History and Political Science and has over 28 *years' experience in journalism, publicity and public relations. His first book titled "The Middle East Crisis: Causes and Consequences" was published in October,* 1967. *At present Mr. Abdulla is Head of the Public Relations Department of West Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation.*

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Points from
President Bhutto's speech
at Pakistan History Conference
held at Islamabad
on April 6, 1973.

If we in Pakistan were to forget our history, we would neither understand our present, nor be at all able to organize our future.

★ ★ ★ ★

The very logic of the creation of Pakistan was rooted in history. This does not mean that it was a revivalist movement in the sense of being atavistic or retrogressive. It means that without the people being imbued with a consciousness of history, the movement would not have acquired the elan that it did. I can, therefore, unhesitatingly say to the historian that there is no soil in the world more congenial to his pursuit than Pakistan.

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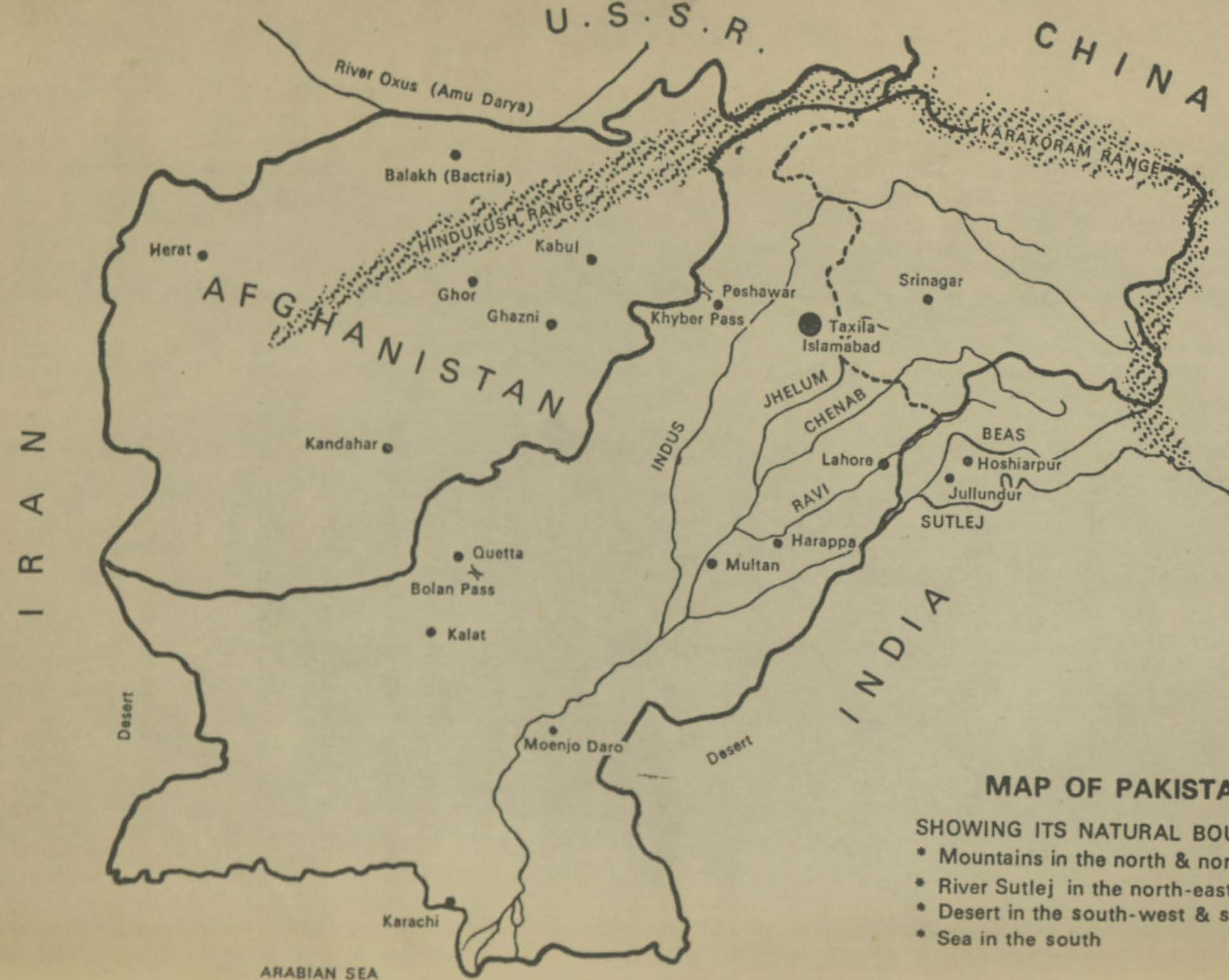
In 1914, Prof. H.A.R. Gibb remarked: "I have not seen any book written in Arabia for Arabs themselves which has clearly analysed what Arab culture means to the Arabs." This remark which was true of the Arabs in 1914 is equally true in regard to the people of Pakistan whose attempt at self-interpretation in the contemporary world shows a lamentable ignorance of the origin, development and achievement of their civilisation.

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The writing of history during the post-partition period has not been very satisfactory either in regard to the number of works produced or the quality of such works. Truth has been sacrificed to national vanity and quality to the desire to secure a purchasing public. Historography in our country has been steadily in a deepening crisis.

Happily, however, there is at present evidence of a fresh attitude to national problems and a new sense of national purpose. This new articulation of national values and needs is a propitious movement for broadening our horizons.

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INTRODUCTION

An explanation is, perhaps, needed for a book on this subject and the particular approach adopted in it. During the last quarter of a century a large number of books have appeared on Pakistan, written by Pakistanis as well as foreigners. One set of such books deals with the Pakistan movement beginning from Sir Syed, running through the establishment of the Muslim League; demand for separate electorates; the Lahore Resolution of 1940; negotiations with the Congress and the British Government and ending with the inception of Pakistan. Another set of books traces the history from Mahmud Ghaznavi, through the Delhi Sultanate set up by Qutubuddin Aibak; then the Khiljis, Tughlaqs, Syeds, Lodhis, Suris and the Mughals. This is actually a history of Muslim rule in the sub-continent whose centre of activity was mostly in the northern Indian belt running from Panipat to Patna.

Unfortunately neither of these set of books introduces us to the background and historical past of the regions called Pakistan and the people inhabiting them, *i.e.,* Afghans/Pathans, Punjabis, Sindhis and Baluchis with the result that today there is colossal ignorance among the educated classes about their distinct history and heritage, their outstanding contribution and their problems and peculiarities. This ignorance and lack of understanding on the part of educated classes has given birth to a number of serious fallacies both internal and external. Internally it has created misgivings and distrust between people living in the four provinces leading to the theory of four nationalities each of which is supposed to have a different origin. Externally, it has fostered belief in the unity of this subcontinent promoting the idea that some sort of federation or confederation with India is inevitable and unavoidable.

The purpose of this book is two-fold. Firstly to tell the story of the people of the four provinces of Pakistan in a concise, readable

form in one volume which is not available at the moment; and secondly to dispel, in the light of historical facts, the erroneous notions prevailing among the people of Pakistan about their own internal relationship and about the fiction of unity of this sub-continent.

The task I have undertaken is onerous and the problems I have addressed myself to, intricate. They are also controversial and likely to evoke strong, unfavourable and disapproving comments from certain circles. But the nature of some of the issues is such that no two authors agree on them and as such I had to go by the consensus. I am also aware of my own limitations, being neither a writer nor a scholar. My only claim is that I have blazed the trail. It is now for the more learned and for those wielding a more powerful and a more facile pen to elaborate and expatiate upon what has been stated or asserted in this modest attempt of mine. I have simply filled the vacuum and fulfilled a national requirement.

Another point needs mention here. The present Pakistan comprising of the four provinces of NWFP, Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan and the State of Jammu and Kashmir is a geographical, historical, cultural, religious and racial unit. This postulate will be amply borne out by the discussion in this book. They are also economically interdependent, with Punjab and Sind producing food and fibre in plenty, and Baluchistan and NWFP having mineral and forest wealth in abundance. The four provinces and Kashmir together present a happy blending and an ideal balancing of nature's bounties. They also represent a unique example of the intermingling of the people of one province with the other. Baluchis are spread over in varying numbers in NWFP, Punjab and Sind while the ubiquitous Pathans are common to every province. Punjabis too have spilled over in small numbers into Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP and Sindhis form a considerable percentage of the population of Baluchistan's Las Bela, Kachchi and Sibi areas. Kashmiris are settled in large numbers in the northern districts of the Punjab and in some parts of NWFP.

Thus the warp of one province is so deeply and inextricably woven with the woof of the other that none can disentangle one from the other. They together form one body and one soul having the same profile, the same lineaments and the same visage with Indus and its tributaries serving as the basis of economic prosperity, and Karachi as its main entrepot. Tribal stocks, religious beliefs, eating habits, dressing patterns, are all identical. Sakas, Kushans and Huns being their ancestors. Islam their faith, wheat

their staple food, and shalwar-kameez their attire. Though languages differ, script is common and Urdu is understood by all. Geographically, again, it has natural and clearly demarcated boundaries with mountains in the north and north-west, ocean in the south, desert in the south-east and south-west and River Sutlej—the last river of the Indus system—in the north-east.*

It can be safely concluded on the basis of research carried out by western scholars that an overwhelming majority of the people of Pakistan *i.e.,* the Afghans/Pathans, Kashmiris, Baluchis, Punjabis and Sindhis comprises of the descendants of the Central Asian tribes of Sakas (Scythians), Kushans (Yue-chi) and White Huns (Epthalites). According to Sir Olaf Caroe the word 'Khan' so common among Afghans/Pathans, Baluchis and the Punjabis was brought to Pakistan by the White Huns (Epthalites) in the 4th/5th centuries A.D. There may be a few remnants in all the four provinces of Pakistan and in Kashmir of Aryans who came here in 1500 B.C.; of the Israelis who came in 1,000 B.C., of the Persians who came in 500 B.C. and of the Greeks who came in 325 B.C. and later with the Bactrians in the 2nd century B.C. But the subsequent large-scale settlements of Sakas (1st century B.C.) Kushans (1st century A.D.) and of Huns (4th century A.D.) changed the entire population pattern of Pakistan. There was no large-scale migration during Muslim period. A few Arabs came and settled in Sind. From Mahmud Ghaznavi onward only soldiers, statesmen, artists etc. came but settled mostly in northern India and not in Pakistan. Therefore the Saka-Kushan-Hun composition of Pakistan's population remains unaltered to this day.

Few nations in the world have such a strong and powerful homogeneity as prevails in the length and breadth of Pakistan. Few nations in the world have so many common ingredients of nationhood as Pakistan. Few nations are so fortunate as to have such a happy blending of the desert and the arable, mountains and plains, sea and land routes. And what is most fortunate is that few nations have several of these homogeneous and common factors extend, in an un-interrupted manner, beyond their frontiers. From Pakistan's western borders to Morocco, and with a southward turn enveloping the whole of western Africa, live people of the same faith—friendly, familiar, fraternal. Pakistan, as such, is not only a homogeneous nation but the eastern bastion of a homogeneous 'millat' covering the huge land mass of Africa, Western Asia, Central and South Asia.

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* **Both historically and geographically, areas (of Indian Punjab) on the western side of Sutlej should have been part of Pakistan.**

Till 1947 this land mass of Muslim world ended at the borders of Iran and Afghanistan. East of these countries (in the sub-continent) Muslims lived mixed with non-Muslims and at best could be regarded as a diaspora. With the establishment of Pakistan and the exodus of Hindus and Sikhs from this region, the frontiers of Muslim world have extended 300-500 miles eastward from Khyber and Zahedan to Wagah and Khokrapar. This is a significant development in Muslim history. Perhaps our generation will be remembered by posterity because of our association with this development i.e., **extension of Muslim world's frontiers eastward by 300-500 miles.**

In this book I have not advocated one unit but emphasised the basis of unity; nor have I counselled elimination of provincial boundaries but stressed the bonds that bind them. I have explained that the differences are secondary and subsidiary while the similarities are primary and predominant. I have produced the writings of eminent scholars in support of my arguments and adopted a logical and rational approach, rather than be swayed by emotions.

Regarding religion and its role, I feel that its importance has been sufficiently high-lighted during the last 25 years and hardly needs any emphasis. It is well-known that this country was carved out on the basis of religion which is still the strongest cementing force and also the most vital driving force. But, unfortunately, having become over-zealous in this regard we neglected other common factors. I have, therefore, concentrated on these neglected common factors and avoided a discussion on the religious aspect which is obvious and evident, perceptible and persistent, inherent and ingrained. The need of the hour is not to repeat and remind this aspect but to make practice conform to precept. Muslims have adopted the easy way of sermonising on a concept rather than suffering for a cause. How cosy to deliver and listen to a sermon and how difficult to endure sufferings and make sacrifices! I sincerely feel that the less we talk of ideals and ideology the better would it serve our purpose. I also hope that those with an open mind, the liberal and the broad-minded, will not raise their eye-brows over the tributes paid to several aspects of Pakistan's pre-Islamic history and heritage in this book. To my mind Islamic message is

> Love and respect for all;
> Hatred and malice towards none.

This was the secret of Muslims' success and the motto of soldiers and sufis of Islam alike. This was the reason why both the Jews and the gentiles

sought and received protection under the canopy of Muslim rule. Let us recapture the spirit of Islam as preached and practised by the great sufis whose memories still evoke deepest respect and reverence in the hearts of millions. Let us make their teachings a living reality. A quarter of a century has been wasted and all the resources and opportunities dissipated. The next quarter of a century is pregnant with tremendous potentialities for the human race. Pakistan can still play an active and effective role in the new era in shaping the pattern of thought as it has done all through history. This book will throw some light on its admirable role and its noble performance in the past.

SOME REDEEMING ASPECTS

Muslim world is a vast and immense mass of land sprawling from West Africa facing the Atlantic to southern Philippines far in the Pacific. Its northern limits touch the Volga in Russia while southern frontiers run up to Mozambique in South-East Africa on the Indian Ocean. In China, in addition to Sinkiang, Muslims are in substantial numbers in the provinces bordering Burma and in the districts around Peking. Total population of Muslims in the world is estimated at 750 million (1973).

In this book it is proposed to deal with only a small segment of this vast and varied world—with the land and people of the region called Pakistan. The purpose is not to discuss each and every aspect of their history nor to give a comprehensive account of their activities. It is intended to bring out only certain salient aspects which have either escaped the notice of historians or failed to receive sufficient emphasis from them. This book will substantiate the historical truth that the creation of an independent State of Pakistan in the sub-continent in the middle of the 20th century was not an oddity or a strange phenomena, nor have the people inhabiting this new political entity asserted their separate status from India for the first time.

Pakistan in different forms and in different backgrounds has appeared many a time in these very regions and endured longer than other independent states of this sub-continent, making enormous contribution to civilization. The history of its people is full of colour, thrill and excitement; of gallant deeds and sublime performance. It has, perhaps, witnessed more invasions than any other part of the world, absorbed more racial strains than any other region and more ideas have taken birth in the bosom of this land than elsewhere.

It was in these lands that the Indus Valley Civilization, one of the most brilliant in the annals of human history, flourished with its main centres at Moenjo Daro in Sind, Harappa in the Punjab, Kej in the Baluch territory and Judeiro Daro in the Pathan region. It was here that Buddhist culture blossomed and reached its zenith under the Kushans in the form of Gandhara civilization at the twin cities of Peshawar and Taxila. It was on this very soil that the Graeco-Bactrian civilization had its best flowering and left the indelible marks of finest Greek art in the potwar plateau around Rawalpindi. The entire Baluchistan is strewn with the remains of the earliest products of man's activities. "Western Pakistan is a region which has been conspicuously important in the development of civilization."[1]

1. *Pakistan and Western Asia, By* Prof. Norman Brown (Pakistan Miscellany).

"In our present state of knowledge, we may regard the period of the Indus Valley culture as the first epoch in the history of civilization in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The second epoch is again one in which the north-west figures basically. This is the period when the Aryans entered through the passes of the north-west at a time assumed to be about 1500-1200 B.C. and possessed the culture of the Rig Veda, which is the first and most important book of the early Indo-Aryans and was probably compiled by 1000 B.C."[2]

"Of the two river systems that of the Indus, now mainly in Pakistan, had the earliest civilization and gave its name to India. The fertile plains of the Punjab watered by the five great tributaries of the Indus had a high culture over two thousand years before Christ, which spread down the lower course of the Indus as far as the sea."[3]

In valour and patriotism the people of these lands have been second to none. It was the people of the Indus Valley that held back the Aryans for decades; it was in the Punjab that the advance of ferocious Mongols was halted for more than a century. But for this defence the tender sapling of Muslim state planted at Delhi in the early 13th century A.D. would have been trampled upon and smothered out. Among more recent events the stiff resistance that Napier encountered from the Sindis and Baluchis is still fresh in our minds. The revolt of the 'hurs' of Sind against British rule in the 20th century is another glorious mark in this series. Pathans' defiance of the British rule and their perpetual struggle in the cause of freedom is a story of only the other day. Kashmiris have suffered silently but never ceased their fight for freedom. The lands of Pakistan are indeed drenched with the blood of many a hero and saturated with the wisdom of many a sage. And what is more exhilarating, it was from these lands that Islam commenced its journey in the sub-continent.

PAKISTAN AND BANGLA DESH

In the context of Islam's journey in the sub-continent a few words about the common factors between Pakistan and Bangla Desh would not be out of place here. We cannot overlook the fact that it were the people of Pakistan and Bangla Desh that welcomed the preachers of Islam and embraced its teachings spontaneously and earnestly in overwhelming numbers, while its success in other parts of the sub-continent was limited.

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2. Ibid.
3. *The Wonder that was India, By* A.L. Bhasham.

The same phenomena was witnessed earlier when Buddhism, which had embraced a major portion of the sub-continent was suppressed and driven out by resurgent Hinduism under the Guptas. Large number of people in Pakistan and Bangla Desh remained firm adherents of Buddhism which, almost extinct in other parts of India, continued to persist and prevail in the two wings till the arrival of Islam. Militant Hinduism succeeded in reconquering the rest of India in the 4th century A.D. during the Gupta period but it could not re-establish itself firmly and regain its hold to the same extent in Pakistan and Bangla Desh which continued to remain largely Buddhist. "While Buddhism in the rest of South Asia declined before the rejuvenation of Hinduism....it remained strong in Bengal until the 12th century A.D."[4]

According to Huen Tsang who visited this sub-continent in the middle of the 7th century A.D., Buddhism of the Mahayana creed was still dominant in the western region of India *i.e.,* Pakistan. Chach Nama also mentions that Buddhists were in large numbers in Pakistan at the time of Muslim advent in Sind in the 8th century A.D. and were hostile towards their Brahmin rulers.

Whether it was a religious issue, such as the spread of Buddhism or Islam, both Pakistan and Bangla Desh accepted them simultaneously shedding Hindu yoke at the earliest opportunity. Again, whether it was a political issue, both the countries asserted their freedom again and again and mostly remained independent of Central Indian Government. The discussion to follow will amply substantiate this historical truth.

The people of Pakistan and Bangla Desh have availed of every opportunity to work unitedly against Hindu imperialism and, what is most significant, Hindu religion was never able to take deep roots in their soil. This view is forcefully proved by the fact that no single sacred city or holy temple of any importance for Hindus exists in the lands that constitute Pakistan and Bangla Desh. Of the seven sacred Hindu cities of (1) Banaras, (2) Hardwar, (3) Ayodhya, (4) Ujjain, (5) Dwarka, (6) Conjeevaram, and (7) Mathura none is either in Pakistan or Bangla Desh. Of the several Hindu holy temples such as those of Jagannath Puri, Somnath, Rameshwaram, Mahbaleshwar, *etc.* none will be found in Pakistan or Bangla Desh. As pointed out in a later chapter, (*see* page 37) the entire Hindu religious literature insists on branding the two wings of this sub-continent now known as Pakistan and Bangla Desh as impure lands inhabited by 'rakhashas' *i.e.,* devils.

4. *Pakistan—Birth and Growth of a Nation, By* Richard V. Weeks.

Pakistan and Bangla Desh were never regarded as part of the 'holy' land of Bharatvarta.

These developments and aspects speak eloquently of the underlying historical reality:

That Pakistan and Bangla Desh have a common enemy; that they survive or perish together; that the hearts of Pakistanis and Bangla Deshis invariably beat in unison and their feelings flow in a rhythm; that their thinking has been harmonious, their outlook compatible, their response to challenges uniform, their approach to problems similar. They accepted Buddhism in overwhelming numbers and adhered to it to the last when the rest of India had exterminated that religion; they accepted Islam and have adhered to it when the rest of the sub-continent has remained largely Hindu. This phenomena of similarity of stance between Pakistan and Bangla Desh has persisted all through history, but divided by a thousand miles of Hindu territory and Brahmin intrigues they could not unite.

Due to this unfortunate aspect the 20th century experiment of a single state of Pakistan embracing both the wings could not last even a quarter of a century. Politically, Pakistan and Bangla Desh may have fallen apart for the time being but in due course they are bound to adopt a common posture against Indian expansionist efforts.

The history of this sub-continent is a history of perpetual struggle of the peripheral areas of the Indus Valley (Pakistan) and Padma-Meghna Delta (Bangla Desh) against the Gangetic Valley governments.

PAKISTAN RARELY PART OF INDIA

But, as the following discussion will prove, during the Hindu period it was the people of the Indus Valley in the West and the Padma-Meghna Delta in the East that mostly emerged triumphant. Both the wings remained independent of Gangetic Valley and in fact Pakistan-based governments ruled over northern India more often and for much longer periods than India has ruled over Pakistan territories. What is more important, Pakistan as an independent country always looked westward and had more connections—cultural, commercial as well as political—with the Sumerian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Central Asian civilizations than with the Gangetic Valley. It was only from the Muslim period onward that these two wings became subservient to northern Indian governments. Even this period is not devoid of revolts and successful assertion of independence by the two wings. In the pre-Muslim period, India's great expansion covering large portions of the sub-continent took place only during the reigns of the

Mauryas (3rd century B.C.) the Guptas (4th century A.D.), Raja Harsha (7th century A.D.), the Gurjara empire of Raja Bhoj (8th century A.D.) and the Pratiharas (9th century A.D.). It is important to note that except for the Maurya period lasting barely a hundred years, under none of the other dynasties did the Hindu governments ever rule over Pakistan. They always remained east of river Sutlej. I shall quote a few passages from history to substantiate my statement.

"At the close of Samudragupta's triumphal career (4th century A.D.) his empire—the greatest in India since the days of Asoka—extended on the north to the base of the mountains, but did not include Kashmir.... Samudragupta did not attempt to carry his arms across the Sutlej or to dispute the authority of the Kushan Kings who continued to rule in and beyond the Indus basin."[5]

"Harsha's subjugation of upper India, excluding the Punjab, but including Bihar and at least the greater part of Bengal, was completed in 612 A.D."[6]

"The Gurjara empire of Bhoja may be defined as, on the north, the foot of the mountains; on the north-west, the Sutlej; on the west the Hakra or 'lost-river' forming the boundary of Sind."[7]

"The rule of the Pratiharas had never extended across the Sutlej, and the history of the Punjab between the seventh and tenth centuries A.D. is extremely obscure. At some time, not recorded, a powerful kingdom had been formed, which extended from the mountains beyond the Indus, eastwards as far as the Hakra or lost-river, so that it comprised a large part of the Punjab, as well as probably northern Sind."[8]

"Politically during the time when Hellenism in India was decaying and in the centuries afterward, the north-west remained separate from northern and central India. The Gupta Empire, which was at its height in the middle of the 4th century A.D., and the Empire of Harsha in the middle of the 7th century A.D. barely reached into the Punjab and included none of Sind."[9]

The above quotations amply prove that during none of the periods of its greatest expansion did India succeed in occupying Pakistan. The only

5. *The Oxford History of India, By* V.A. Smith, third edition, edited *By* Percival Spear p. 166–67.

6. Ibid. p. 180.

7. Ibid. p. 200.

8. Ibid. p. 204.

9. *Pakistan and Western Asia, By* Prof. Norman Brown (Pakistan Miscellany). Published 1958.

exception is the Maurya period in the 3rd century B.C. when Asoka's Empire is said to have extended up to the Hindu Kush, north of Kabul. Even in this isolated case of the Mauryas, historians are aware that Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of the Maurya dynasty who hailed from Pakistan (Punjab), did not get Pakistan by conquest but by diplomacy from the Greek rulers who had succeeded Alexander.

As pointed out by more than one western writer, the four-thousand-year history of Pakistan reveals that its independence had been a rule while its subservience to or attachment with India an exception. "Throughout most of the recorded history the north-west (*i.e.,* Pakistan) has normally been either independent or incorporated in an empire whose centre lay further to the west. The occasions when it has been governed from a centre further east (India) have been the exception rather than the rule; and the creation of Pakistan which has been described as a geographer's nightmare is historically a reversion to normal as far as West Pakistan is concerned."[10]

During its four-thousand-five-hundred-year known history, Pakistan has been subservient to the Central Indian governments only during the Maurya, the Turko-Afghan and British periods who were Buddhist, Muslim and Christian respectively. While the Mauryan (300-200 B.C.) and British (1848-1947) periods lasted barely a hundred years each, the Turko-Afghan period was the longest covering a span of 500 years.

Here we come across an important ideological point. All the three religions *i.e.,* Buddhism, Islam and Christianity which succeeded in uniting the sub-continent under the Maurya, Turko-Afghan and British rulers stood for universal brotherhood and were spread all over the world. In the context of ideology, the implications are obvious *i.e.,* only people believing in universal brotherhood could unite and hold this sub-continent together. Otherwise Pakistan's independence could never be challenged nor its people subdued by India's Hindu Governments.

It is of these celebrated lands and of their intrepid people that we shall narrate the story here. In this book we shall give a brief historical background and the contribution made by each of the groups that inhabit it: We shall begin with a general account of the entire country first and then take up the history of each group.

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10. *A Study of History, By* A. J. Toynbee

PAKISTAN—CRADLE OF CIVILIZATIONS: COMMON HISTORY

When the pall of darkness recedes from the firmament of the past unfolding the first pre-historic vision of Pakistan, we descry the imposing spectacle of a splendid civilization spread over a thousand-mile length from the glistening snow-capped mountains of Kashmir to the glittering sand dunes facing the Arabian Sea. This was Indus Valley Civilization, one of whose distinguishing characteristics was its independent existence, completely detached from what is today known as India. This independent entity had its own government, its own culture, its own religion, its own history, its own art and architecture, rules and regulations. From this centre radiated great ideas and ideologies, techniques and trades, which enriched every aspect of human life. Taking this period as the starting point of our known past till our own times the land of Pakistan has invariably led an independent existence.

Another unique aspect of Indus Valley Civilization was that it embraced within its fold almost the entire country now known as Pakistan, with two important centres of culture and administration—one at Harappa on the bank of Ravi in Sahiwal District of the Punjab and another at Moenjo Daro on River Indus in the Larkana District of Sind. According to more recent discoveries other important centres and sizeable towns of Indus Valley Civilization were situated at Chanhu Daro in Nawabshah District, Judeiro-daro near Quetta and Shahi Tump in the Valley of the Kej (Mekran). Modern archaeological research has brought to light a large number of smaller centres spread over Baluchistan, Frontier and Kashmir.

Thus, the very first pre-historic picture of Pakistan emerging before our eyes presents the twin aspects of (a) separate independent country, and (b) a common culture with a common government. I shall dilate a bit here on the uniformity in various fields of life that prevailed in Pakistan during the Indus Valley Civilization.

From time immemorial the world has known two different countries and cultures in the sub-continent; one based on the Indus and its five tributaries known as Sindhu and the other on the Ganges Valley known as Bharatvarta. "Herodotus did not reckon among the 'Indoi' any of the people then in occupation of the Indus basin. . . . In thus excluding from the limits of India proper the Punjab as well as Gadara, Herodotus was in agreement with the Sanskrit scriptures; and there is a piece of evidence which suggests

that, without knowing it, he may have been following Vedic authority through a chain of intermediate informants."[1] The Sindhu country with its Indus Valley Civilization—also known as Harappa culture—had its sway from Rupar on upper Sutlej to the lower reaches of the Indus on the Arabian Sea, a distance of about a thousand miles—almost the same territory now covered by Pakistan.

"About 2000 B.C. it would have been possible to travel from Sutkagen-dot near the shores of the Arabian Sea over 300 miles west of Karachi (in Baluchistan) to the village of Rupar near the foot of the Simla hills—a distance of 1000 miles and to see on all sides men living in various degrees the same mode of life, making the same kind of pots and tools and ornaments and possibly administered by the same government.

"It will be observed that this great stretch of country coincides very nearly with the present West Pakistan, and for a significant reason: West Pakistan, like the Indus Civilization, belongs essentially to the vast fertile valley of the Indus and its tributaries, sheltered by hills, sea and desert from its less favoured neighbours save where in the Punjab, the northern plains continuously fringe the foot-hills of the Himalayas. The Indus Civilization can thus be claimed in a real sense as a pre-historic prototype of West Pakistan.

"Within this immense territory, archaeologists have found no fewer than thirty-seven town or village sites (tells) representing this civilization, and many more un-doubtedly await discovery."[2]

The pattern of civilization in this country was so uniform that even the bricks were usually of the same size and shape from one end to the other. A very large number of weights all belonging to a uniform system have been found in the two capital cities as well as at Chanhu-daro and other smaller cities in Sind, at Mehi in Baluchistan and at Sutkagen-Dot in Makran. "The regular planning of the streets, the layout of cities and the common weights and measures suggest a single state covering the entire area."[3]

"At a certain period, diversity is replaced by uniformity over an area incomparably vaster than anything we have yet seen in pre-historic India. A complete agreement in details of material culture is found over an area stretching from the Makran coast to Kathiawar and northwards to the

1. A *Study of History*, Vol. III, *By* A.J. Toynbee.
2. *Pakistan before the Aryans, By* Sir Mortimer Wheeler (Pakistan Miscellany).
3. *The Wonder that was India, By* A.L. Bhasham.

Himalyan foothills, a huge irregular triangle with the sizes measuring 950 by 700 by 550 miles. From end to end of this territory, from some forty settlement-sites come pottery vessels of identical mass-produced types; houses are built of baked bricks of standard dimensions, stamp-seals are engraved with similar scenes, a uniform script which is yet unread prevails and a standard system of weights is recognizable. While some sites are villages, others are towns and 350 miles apart stand two cities (Harappa and Moenjo Daro) twin capitals of an empire. Under the jejune archaeological nomenclature of Harappa culture there lies concealed one of the greatest nameless kingdoms of Asia."[4]

"The overriding fact remains that they (Harappa in the Punjab and Moenjo Daro in Sind) are situated upon the same river system and are culturally identical. That identity extends throughout the immense territory of the Indus civilization from Kashmir to Karachi....The Indus Civilization exemplifies the vastest political experiment before the advent of the Roman Empire..............Whatever the political implications, the cultural unity of the civilization is itself a sufficiently imposing phenomenon......"[5]

One of the most interesting crops grown by the people of the Harappa culture was cotton, of which a fortunate single find at Moenjo Daro has given conclusive evidence. Extensive trade in cotton and cotton cloth is a strong possibility particularly with Mesopotamia where cotton was known as Sindhu and this word later passed into Greek as 'sindon'.

"As to the peculiar products of India, it is interesting that Herodotus told the Greek world, perhaps for the first time, of the trees that bore wool, surpassing in beauty and in quality the wool of sheep; and the Indians wear clothing from these trees."[6]

The climate of major portion of Pakistan during the long period of this civilization was different from what it is today. The whole of Indus region was well-forested providing fuel to burn bricks; and Baluchistan, now almost a waterless desert, was rich in rivers. This region supported a sizeable agricultural population which lived in a large number of villages.

The archaeological evidence of continuous occupation of the city sites over centuries shows that continuity of government was somehow assured throughout the long period that its civilization lasted from say 2,500 B.C. to 1,500 B.C.—for over a thousand years. There are strong indications of this

4. *Pre-historic India, By* Stuart Piggot.
5. *Early India and Pakistan to Ashoka, By* Sir Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E.
6. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, *By* E.J. Rapson.

culture being deeply religious where tradition was transmitted unimpaired for centuries. The remarkable conservatism and scrupulous preservation of even the details of every-day life for long periods proves that the civilization was theocratic based on religion and ideology. It would not be far wrong to call it an ideological state. That was Pakistan 4,500 years ago.

COMING OF THE ARYANS

This prosperous and flourishing civilization was brought to an end by the savage invasions of the Aryans about 1,500 B.C. These nomads had hardly any culture of their own which could stand comparison with that of the Indus Valley. Large number of skeletons discovered in Harappa, Meonjo Daro and other places shows that the local people put up stiff resistance and died fighting valiantly. There are traces of widespread devastation caused by the invaders in the entire Pakistan. A scorched earth policy seems to have been followed which extinguished almost all traces of civilization in the region. "Evidence from Baluchistan, Sind and the Punjab is reasonably consistent in implying that at some period likely to have been before 1,500 B.C., to use a convenient round figure, the long established cultural traditions of north-western India (*i.e.,* Pakistan) were rudely and ruthlessly interrupted by the arrival of new people from the West. The Aryan advent was in fact the arrival of Barbarians into a region already highly organized into an empire based on a long established tradition of literate urban culture."[7]

"In the hymns of the Rigveda, the invasion constantly assumes the form of an onslaught upon the walled cities of the 'aborigines'.............It is not indeed impossible that the name of Harappa itself is concealed in the Hari-Yupia which is mentioned in the Rigveda as the scene of a battle."[8]

However, the Aryans during their stay in Pakistan picked up much from the Indus Civilization which stood them in good stead during their settled life in India. "Aryans entered and Aryanized the middle country of the Ganges Doab after picking up ideas of craftsmen in the Indus Valley and the Baluch borderland."[9] According to some authors Chandragupta Maurya and his dynasty were the ghosts of the Harappa Empire. "To the complex pattern of the Indian Middle Ages the ancient urban civilization of the Punjab and the Indus surely contributed not a little. And this was a contribution not only in the sphere of religious speculation or in traditions of ritual and ceremonial observances: The whole character of medieval

7. *Pre-historic India, By* Stuart Piggot.
8. *Early India and Pakistan to Ashoka, By* Sir Mortimer Wheeler.
9. Ibid.

Hindu society and the structure of its polity and government seem inevitably a reflection of the civilization of Sind and the Punjab.[10]

Some modern historians even link the great Ajanta art to the Indus Valley Civilization because "the Vedic Hindu culture which prevailed before the Buddhistic culture in north India is not known to have had any painting worth the name."[11]

The Aryan tribes which occupied Pakistan have been identified as Sivas, Parsas, Kayayas, Vrichivants, Yadus, Anus, Turvasas, Dratyus and Nichyas. The Sivas Aryans had their capital at Sivistan which is supposed to be modern Sehwan.

It may be of interest to mention here that so long as the Aryans stayed in Pakistan, they did not evolve that particular religion called 'Hinduism' with its caste system and other taboos. It was only when they crossed the Sutlej and settled in the Gangetic Valley that this abomninable system was evolved. "While settled in the Punjab the Aryans had not yet become Hindu. . . . The distinctive Brahmanical System appears to have been evolved after the Sutlej had been passed. To the east of Sutlej the Indo-Aryans were usually safe from foreign invasions and free to work out their own rule of life undisturbed. This also explains the absence of Hindu holy cities and temples in Pakistan."[12]

"The castes were hardened by the time the Aryans occupied the middle land *i.e.*, the Gangetic Valley and distinguished themselves from their brethern in Sind and the Punjab who were despised by them for not observing the rules of caste. . . . and for their non-Brahmanical character."[13]

"While the Aryans had by now expanded far into India, their old home in the Punjab, Sind and the north-west was practically forgotten. Later Vedic literature mentions it rarely, and then usually with disparagement and contempt, as an impure land where the Vedic sacrifices are not performed."[14]

However, the one redeeming point that emerges from the Aryan occupation of Pakistan for over five hundred years from 1,500 B.C. to 1,000 B.C. is that during this entire period this country again led a separate existence. It had hardly anything to do yet with the rest of the sub-continent and continued the traditions of cultural and political independence inherited

10. Ibid.
11. *Indian Culture, By* S. Abid Hussain.
12. *Oxford History of India, By* V.A. Smith, third edition.
13. *Sindhi Culture, By* U.T. Thakur.
14. *The Wonder that was India, By* A.L. Bhasham.

from the Indus Valley Civilization. As such, even under Aryan occupation, Pakistan was an independent country separate from India.

"The evidence of the Rig Veda shows that during the centuries when the Aryans were occupying the Punjab and composing the hymns of the Rig Veda, the north-west part of the sub-continent was culturally separate from the rest of India. The closest cultural relations of the Indo-Aryans at that period were with the Iranians, whose language and sacred texts are preserved in the various works known as the Avesta, in inscriptions in Old Persian, and in some other scattered documents. So great is the amount of material common to the Rig Veda Aryans and the Iranians that the books of the two peoples show common geographic names as well as deities and ideas."[15]

When the Aryans conquered India and migrated from Pakistan in about 1,000 B.C., the latter country again became independent and did not conform to the system that began to be evolved in the Gangetic Valley by its conquerers. Except for the Rigveda, the remaining three Vedas and other religious books of the Hindus such as Upanishads, Shastras, Aranyakas, Brahmanas, the two epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata *etc.*, on which their social and cultural system rests, were written outside Pakistan.

For the next about five hundred years from 1,000 B.C. to 500 B.C. little is known about Pakistan. The bulk of the Aryans had left this country and the only point clear is that these areas had again become independent, were averse to the religious system evolved by the Aryans in India, leading to a rift between the two. The Aryans were extremely unhappy at this revolt by the people of Pakistan and had begun to despise and abhor them placing them outside their fold.

PART OF PERSIAN EMPIRE

The next chapter of Pakistan's history unravels itself with the attack of Persians under Darius (522 B.C.-486 B.C.) who made this region a province of Achaemenian Empire (or may be earlier under his grand-father Cyrus). Darius affirms this in his inscriptions at Persepolis and Naksh-e-Rustam mentioning Hapta Hindva (seven rivers) as a province of his Empire. The conquered provinces of the Punjab and Sind were considered to be the richest and most populous satrapy of the Empire, to the revenues of which they were required to pay the enormous tribute of a million sterling[16].

15. *Pakistan and Western Asia, By* Prof. Norman Brown.

16. *Studies in Indian History, By* K.M. Panikkar.

This 15th (20th according to some) Satrapy of Darius' Empire extended up to Beas—almost the same area as now covered by Pakistan.

Vincent Smith says: "although the exact limits of the Indian satrapy under Darius cannot be determined...it must have comprised the course of the Indus from Kalabagh to the sea, including the whole of Sind, and perhaps included a considerable portion of the Punjab east of Indus."

"We know nothing certain about the fate of this region until the latter half of the 6th century B.C. when Gandhara (Peshawar in the NWFP and Rawalpindi region in the Punjab) together with the province of Indus were included in the Persian Empire of the Achaemenids."[17]

"It seems that Darius I held the entire course of the Indus from the Upper Punjab to the Arabian Sea and some land to the east of the river how far east is not known, but most authorities seem to think that he had the sections of Sind west of the Rajputana Desert and had penetrated into the Punjab beyond the Indus.

"The one generalization we can make is that politically the north-west was again separate from central, northern, and eastern India. The fact seems clearly to have facilitated the invasion of Alexander and to have contributed to the cultural divergence between the north-west and the rest of the sub-continent in the centuries after his time."[18]

A Pakistani contingent fought in Xerxes' army on his expedition to Greece. Herodotus mentions that the Indus satrapy supplied cavalry and chariots to the Persian army. He also mentions that the Indus people were clad in armaments made of cotton, carried bows and arrows of cane covered with iron. Herodotus states that in 517 B.C. Darius sent an expedition under Scylax to explore the Indus.

As part of the Persian Empire, Pakistan had a flourishing economy; inter-regional trade developed considerably and several caravan cities sprang up. Charsadda on the Peshawar road and Taxila near Rawalpindi were supposed to have been two of the many centres of trade and intellectual activity during the pax-Persica of the latter half of the 6th century B.C.

"The materials available to the scholar today indicate that the north-western part of the sub-continent was an economically advanced province in the last centuries of the first millennium B.C. to the early first millennium of our era. Herodotus describes the Indians inhabiting the part of the sub-

17. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Edited *By* E.J. Rapson.

18. *Pakistan and Western Asia*, *By* Prof. Norman Brown.

continent under the Achaemenids as the most numerous of all peoples known to him, a people who "paid (to the Achaemenids) a tribute which was great in comparison to the others."[19]

As such, as part of the Achaemenian Empire she became involved in Middle East politics. Since Darius had defeated the Greeks extending the western frontiers of his Empire up to River Danube, and since Pakistani troops had participated in this campaign and in another war against Greece under Xerxes (486-465 B.C.), when Alexander came out to take revenge for his country's previous defeats he made it a point to attack and annex Pakistan. The fact that Pakistan was part of the Persian Empire till Alexander's time is proved by the call which Darius III, the last of the Achaemenian dynasty was able to issue to troops of the Indus satrapy when making his final stand at Arbela to resist the Greek invasion of Persia by Alexander. According to the historian, Arrian, some of the forces of Indus people were grouped with their neighbours, the Bactrians and the Sogdians, under the command of the satrap of Bactria at Arbela against Alexander.

An important point to be noted here is that even during the period Pakistan was under the Achaemenian Empire from the time of Darius, about 500 B.C. to the arrival of Alexander in 327 B.C., *i.e.,* a span of almost two hundred years, it enjoyed complete autonomy. Its administration was under several local rulers (rajas) who merely acknowledged the suzerainty of the Persians. During the last days of the Achaemenians when the monarchy had become decadent autonomy was asserted to a still greater extent.

"Alexander's invasion of the Punjab (326/27-325) is sometimes mentioned as marking the beginning of Greek influence upon the sub-continent. Though this statement is in a sense true, it is probably more accurate to say that because the Achaemenian empire included the north-west and Alexander took it over in conquering that empire, it was natural that Hellenism, on developing in that Empire after Alexander's time, should enter the North-West.[20]

ALEXANDER'S INVASION

Western historians have tried to extol the cultural aspects of Alexander's invasion and to exaggerate the extent of its impact on the East. The truth of the matter is that he was a destroyer of civilizations and in this respect was no better than Changez or Hulagu. He annihilated the greatest civilization of the time flourishing in Persia under the Achaemenians, effaced

19. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By* Yu. V. Gankovsky.

20. *Pakistan and Western Asia, By* Prof. Norman Brown.

the finest cultural monuments erected by the great monarchs of that dynasty and by setting fire to the capital city of Persepolis and several other towns and cities, left Iran desolate and deserted. It took Iran more than six centuries to revive and resuscitate itself from the devastation wrought by Alexander's armies. Iran rose again and regained its lost power and prestige under the Sassanians in the 3rd century A.D. In Pakistan also Alexander and his forces carried out large-scale massacres. In lower Sind alone 80,000 people are said to have been put to the sword and innumerable men and women sold as slaves.[21]

Since Alexander was determined to reach the eastern-most limits of the Persian Empire he could not resist the temptation to conquer Pakistan, which at this time was parcelled out into small chieftainships, who were feudatories of the Persian Empire. Alexander entered Pakistan from the northern route at Swat but was given a tough fight by the local forces in which he himself is said to have been injured. Next, he reached Indus which was crossed at a place called Ohind, fifteen miles above Attock. The first local ruler he encountered was that of Taxila, Raja Ambhi, with his territories lying between Indus and Jhelum. This raja, because of the geographical position of his kingdom, kept himself well informed of developments across Indus and beyond, and was shrewd and pragmatic in his approach. Having received the information that the Achaemenian Emperor Darius III was ignominously defeated by Alexander and that entire Iran had been over-run and devastated by his armies, Ambhi considered it prudent to conclude peace with the Greek dictator. Alexander was extended a glorious welcome at Taxila where he stayed for some time and held discussions with the learned people of the city. He was so pleased with the raja that he confirmed the latter as ruler of the area and gave him costly presents.

Further east, however, Alexander's advance was halted by the famous Raja Porus who inflicted considerable losses on the Greek forces. Porus was the ruler of territories east of Jhelum. The local armies fought valiantly and but for some tactical mistakes might have won the war. In spite of the defeat, Porus was confirmed as ruler in his principality in recognition of his prowess and patriotism. Moreover, Alexander did not want to antagonise the local people and rulers in view of their potentialities and also in view of his own limited resources. "It is clear from classical accounts of Alexander's campaign that the Greeks were not unimpressed by what they saw in India (*i.e.* Pakistan). They much admired the courage of the Indian (Pakistani) troops, the austerity of the ascetics whom they met at Taxila and the purity and

21. *Early History of India, By* V.A. Smith.

simplicity of the tribes of the Punjab and Sind......The Greeks were impressed by the ferocity with which the women of some of the Punjab tribes aided their menfolk in resisting Alexander."[22]

"The Greeks who were much impressed by the high stature of the men in the Punjab acknowledged that in the art of war they were far superior to the other nations by which Asia was at that time inhabited. The resolute opposition of Porus consequently was not to be despised."[23]

Alexander went up to the bank of the Beas somewhere near Gurdaspur where his army, according to historians, refused to move further. Whatever the immediate cause, by reaching Beas Alexander had almost touched the eastern-most frontier of the traditional boundaries of Pakistan and accomplished his mission. It was but logical that he should return. He came down through the entire length of Pakistan, crossed the Hub River near Karachi and departed for home dying on the way. It should not be overlooked that during his 10-month stay in Pakistan and during his movements from one end to the other he did not have smooth sailing. He had to fight small rulers almost everywhere in the N.W.F.P., Punjab and Sind. The Mallois of Mullistan (Multan) inflicted considerable losses on his forces.

Alexander's invasion of this area and the extent of his journey again boldly highlight the fact that Pakistan's present boundaries were almost the same in those days. From Hindu Kush, Dir and Swat to the banks of the Beas and down to Karachi—this entire area was one single geographical, political and cultural bloc under the suzerainty of the Persians. It will also be recalled that this was the same area as covered by the Indus Valley Civilization which continued to remain separate from India through the ages. Alexander's halt and return from the bank of the Beas is not without significance in this context. "The sphere of Persian influence in these early times can hardly have reached beyond the realm of the Indus and its affluents. We may assume, accordingly, that when Alexander reached the river Hyphasis, the ancient vipac, and modern Beas, and was then forced by his generals and soldiers to start upon his retreat, he had touched the extreme limits of the Persian dominion over which he had triumphed throughout."[24]

22. *The Wonder that was India, by* A.L. Bhasham.

23. *The Oxford History of India, By* V.A Smith.

24. *The Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, Edited by E.J. Rapson.

The redeeming feature of this period that stands out distinctly is that Pakistan, again, was NOT a part of India and was affiliated to a western power. We have seen that whether during (a) the Indus Valley Civilization 2500 B.C. — 1500 B.C. or (b) during the period of Aryan settlement 1500 B.C. — 1000 B.C. or (c) during the half a millennium period after Aryan exit 1000 B.C. — 500 B.C. or (d) during its affiliation with the Achaemenian Empire 500 — 325 B.C., Pakistan was all along a separate entity having nothing to do with India. The period covered by these four chapters of its history is from 2500 B.C. to 325 B.C., *i.e.,* about two thousand two hundred years.

The immediate impact of Alexander's invasion on Pakistan was faint and inconsequential. The long-term and indirect effects, however, were of considerable importance which shall be discussed at a later stage. Here we shall pick up the thread of political history and follow the destiny of this area immediately after Alexander's departure.

UNDER THE MAURYAN EMPIRE

Alexander's invasion had a two-fold political effect: By crushing the Achaemenian Empire it loosened the already feeble control of the Persians over Pakistan; and by creating a power vacuum in this area it encouraged, for the first time in history, intrusion by India into Pakistan. Fortunately for India, at this opportune moment a man from the Punjab, Chandragupta Maurya, was able to set up a strong government in the Gangetic Valley which extended its sway over most of northern India. Alexander's successor Seleucus who had yet to gird up his loins and muster his forces after the Dictator's sudden and unexpected demise, was prevailed upon by diplomacy to cede Pakistan to Chandragupta peacefully, avoiding the sufferings of war whose outcome seemed uncertain to him. Pakistan, as such, became a part of India's Mauryan Empire in 300 B.C. without war. This was the first time in history that Pakistan was looking eastward and the first time it had become part of India and ruled by India. But strangely indeed, shortly afterwards, the third Mauryan Emperor, Asoka, became Buddhist and Pakistan did not have to smart under Hinduism for long. Though incorporated in the Indian Empire, Pakistan escaped Hindu rule. Under Asoka's missionary activities she adopted Buddhism and was to remain largely Buddhist till the arrival of Muslims.

Mauryan rule, however, did not last long. Pakistan's ties with India were severed barely a hundred years later in about 200 B.C. when the Greek King Demetrius, already in control of the areas beyond Hindu Kush with his capital at Bactria (Balkh in northern

Afghanistan), pounced upon Pakistan at the very first opportunity. Within a few years (190 B.C. — 180 B.C.) Demetrius took over a considerable portion of the Indus basin. This ushered in the golden period of Graeco-Bactrians who had their capital at Taxila. This new state also embraced almost the whole of present day Pakistan with its eastern boundary extending up to Sutlej; had an independent existence and again looked westward having hardly anything to do with India. The greatest Graeco-Bactrian king was Menander who was a Buddhist and ruled from 160-140 B.C.

GRAECO-BACTRIAN RULE

Since Alexander's invasion, a number of Greek families had settled down in various parts of Pakistan and had made sizeable contribution to art and architecture, science and medicine during Mauryan period. "That during this period there were several foreign communities living in north-western India can be established from India's own literary records. Asoka refers to his Yavana (Greek) subjects. He seems to have employed Greek nobles in the service of the state."[25] With the establishment of Greek rule, arts and sciences received fresh and vigorous impetus and Taxila, their capital, became one of the greatest centres of learning. Scholars from all over the world flocked here to acquire knowledge. "From now on the Yavanas are mentioned from time to time in Indian literature. Through the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom western theories of astrology and medicine began to enter India and perhaps the development of the Sanskrit drama was in part inspired from this source. One of the Greek kings of the Punjab is specially remembered by Buddhism as the patron of the philosopher-monk Nagasena; this was Milinda (Menander) whose long discussions with the sage are recorded in a well-known Pali text, the Questions of Milinda. Menander is said to have become a Buddhist."[26] "In this area (Pakistan) which came to be known in Buddhist books as Uddiyana, Asoka's missionary activities seem to have borne fruit and soon it became one of the classic centres of Buddhism."[27] Sind was also under the jurisdiction of the Bactrian rulers. "It is probable that both Apollodidus and his successor Menander ruled over Sind for a hundred years."[28] In the ancient and early Indian sources we find reference to cities built by the rulers of the Graeco-Bactrian states in the basin of the Indus Delta.

25. *Studies in Indian History, By* K.M. Panikkar.
26. *The Wonder that was India, By* A.L. Bhasham.
27. *Studies in Indian History, By* K.M. Panikkar.
28. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India,* Vol. XXII.

"The expansive policy of Bactria's Hellenistic rulers, who had conquered more peoples than Alexander himself, resulted in the establishment in the north-western part of the sub-continent, of the so-called Indo-Greek Kingdom stretching from Kashmir to the coast of the Arabian Sea. According to Strabon's testimony, the Indo-Greek kings in the south possessed the lower reaches of the Indus and the Saurashtra. The most powerful of them was Menander (mid-second century B.C.) a master of sea ports, mines, cities and custom-houses."[29]

"It is Hellenism that became the ideological form and justification of this process under the concrete historical conditions existing in the north-western part of the subcontinent in the middle of the later half of the first millennium B.C. This was largely due to the age-old political as well as economic ties between the territories of the Indus Basin and the countries of Western Asia. These ties became especially strong after Alexander the Great's campaign and reached their climax (in the antiquity) at the turn of our era. The local aristocracy, as G.F. Ilian points out, "seems to have been gravitating more to the countries west and north west of Taxila than to the countries to the south of it, both economically and, by tradition, politically. This is attested, among other things by the numerous rebellions raised here against Mauryan rule.

"At the same time the Milindapanha (1,2) describes the West Punjab as "the country of the Yonana", because in the time of Menander the Hellenized members of the local aristocracy and the descendants of the Graeco-Macedonian invaders constituted here the ruling substratum of slave owning society.

"The top of society harboured the Greek language: by the testimony of Philostratus Fraotes, King of Taxila (the latter half of the first century A.D.) spoke Greek fluently. It is in Greek, as Strabon states, that the message of the Indian (Pakistan) King Por to the Roman Emperor Augustus (27 B.C. to A.D. 14) was composed. Some scholars hold that Greek was fostered as a living tongue at the court of the Saka rulers in North-West India (*i.e.,* Pakistan).

"The northern Indian contingents supplied by Alexander the Great and his successors into their armies seem to have become hellenized much earlier than other sections of the population. Indigenous troops were armed with Macedonian weapons and trained by Macedonian methods. Hellenization worked on the offspring of intermarriages between Macedonian soldiers and Asiatic women, as well as on the population of numerous cities

29. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By* Yu. V. Gankovsky.

founded or re-built by the Graeco-Macedonian invaders. These cities were populated with Graeco-Macedonian soldiers unable for further service and with local dwellers. Thus according to Diodorus, Alexander recruited 10,000 peoples to inhabit a city he had founded in the Lower Indus. Seleucus Nicator carried on town construction too; he built many towns all over his vast kingdom, including "Alexandropolis in the land of the Indians."[30]

THE SAKAS

The Graeco-Bactrian rule, like that of its predecessor the Mauryan, did not last for more than a century. Internecine warfare and internal schisms soon weakened them. Pakistan was divided into several petty Greek Kingdoms which easily fell victim to the great wave of Scythians (Sakas) which took place in the middle of the first century B.C. This was a huge sea of nomads which, pressed in Central Asia and on China's borders by fiercer and tougher people migrated on an extensive scale. They overthrew the Greek rulers and established their sovereignty as well as settlements all over Pakistan.

It would be of interest to note here that during the last five hundred years of the pre-Christian era till this time (*i.e.,* first century B.C.) Pakistan was mostly connected with the Graeco-Persian world. The Saka invasions from Central Asia, therefore, opened a new chapter in the history of Pakistan.

Henceforth Pakistan became a permanent hunting ground for Central Asian tribes who can be vaguely termed as Turko-Mongoloid. So far the ethnical composition of Pakistan's population was Graeco-Iranian-Aryan but from the first century B.C. *i.e.,* for the last over two thousand years, the predominant element has been Turko-Mongoloid.

We shall briefly recapitulate here the previous developments. In the first stage, the Indus Valley people were eliminated and supplanted by the Aryans about 1500 B.C. Next, after the migration of the Aryans from these areas towards India on a mass scale in 1,000 B.C., Pakistan began to receive mostly Iranian and Greek elements. In the third stage beginning from 1st century B.C. wave after wave of the Turko-Mongoloid people such as the Sakas, the Kushans, the Huns and the Gujjars began to settle in Pakistan and, in the course of time, constituted an overwhelmingly predominant element of its population. This composition continues to this day. These waves were so large and cataclysmic that everything was submerged in it or absorbed by it. All previous elements--Aryans, Iranians and Greeks—simply lost their identity in this deluge; they were not recognizable

30. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By* Yu. V. Gankovsky.

any more. The waves of Sakas were so enormous and their settlements so vast that Pakistan came to be known to Greek geographers as Scythia and in Indian literature as Saka-dipa.

The first three Saka kings of Pakistan were Maues, Azes I and Azilises. Their numerous coinages are, almost without exception, copied from those of their Yavana (Greek) predecessors. As regards language and culture, the Sakas mostly adopted those of the Pahlavas or Parthians of Iran. In fact at a later stage Saka-dipa (Pakistan) was ruled by Pahlava princes. The most well-known of them was Gondopharnes whose capital was Taxila. During his reign (20-48 A.D.) St. Thomas, according to early ecclesiastical legends, preached Christianity in his dominions.

"Of the political history of this period a great deal is still in suspense. The leaders of the Sakas in the Indus basin seem to have first acknowledged the power of the local Greek Indian rulers. It is not until a few decades later that they felt themselves strong enough to lay claim to supreme suzerainship. Ghandara became the centre of the Saka domains, and the eastern capital city of Taxila was chosen by the Saka king Mavak (Maues or Mauakes in the ancient authors, and Moga in early Indian sources) in the middle of the first century B.C. as its residence. Mavak's successors propagated their power over a considerable part of the Punjab.

"In the north-west in the Punjab, however, the Saka leaders' hold was short-lived. The dynasty founded by Mavak was overthrown by the Parthians as early as the beginning of the first century of our era.

"In the Western Punjab, Upper Sind and Derajat, a number of warring rulers related to the Surens, a Parthian clan controlling the eastern areas of Iran, held sway. The Parthian Kings, who keep ousting one another, rule over this country.[31]"

THE KUSHANS

The next important chapter in Pakistan's history begins with the arrival of another wave of Central Asian tribes called the Yueh-chi. Because of the turbulent and unsettled conditions on the borders of China, one tribe was chasing out the other and occupying their grazing lands. One such movement brought the Yueh-chi to Pakistan, a branch of which was known as the Kushans. This was about the middle of the first century A.D. The Kushans overthrew the Saka-Parthian princes and established an empire which became one of the world's greatest and most distinguished both from the point of view of territory as well as cultural and religious achieve-

31. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By* Yu. V. Gankovsky.

ments. The Kushan ruler who conquered Pakistan was Vima Kadphises who was succeeded in about 78 A.D. by Kanishka. The Kushan rule, however, did not completely eliminate the Sakas from Pakistan. They had permanently settled down in these areas in large numbers and continued to be governed by their princes who merely extended allegiance to the Kushan kings. This is proved by the Sue Vihara inscription in the Bahawalpur Division which is dated in the regnal year of Kanishka 11 (89 A.D.). Even the era said to have been founded by Kanishka in 78 A.D. was known as Saka Era. "There is evidence to show that they (Sakas) still governed their own states, no doubt as feudatories more or less nominal of the Kushans."[32]

The Kushans, with their capital at Purushapura (Peshawar) had their dominions on both sides of the Hindu Kush *i.e.,* extending up to and including parts of (Russian) Turkistan in the north-west, embracing the whole of modern Afghanistan, and in the east the entire Pakistan and major portion of northern India. The greatest ruler of the dynasty, Kanishka, had adopted Buddhism and it was during his period that both Buddhist religion and Greek art reached their zenith which is known under the nomenclature of Gandhara Civilization. It was again during his regime and because of his efforts that Buddhism spread in Central Asia and China. This period is regarded as the most important in the history of Buddhism.

The budding and blossoming of Gandhara art was not a new phenomena in Pakistan's history as this land had given birth to several such brilliant civilizations since pre-historic times beginning with Indus Valley Civilization. Judeiro Daro and Shahi Tump in Baluchistan; Moenjo Daro, Kot Diji, Amri, Chanhu Daro, and Sehwan in Sind; Harappa, Sari Kola and Taxila in the Punjab, Takht-i-Bahi and Mingora in NWFP have been seats of learning and art, centres of great religious activity and pivots of political power. It may be pointed out that Sari Kola in Pindi Division (3000 B.C.), Kot Diji in Khairpur Division (2800 B.C.) and Amri in Dadu District (3000 B.C.) are all pre-Indus Valley civilizations.

"When the great monarch Kanishka actively espoused the cause of Buddhism and essayed to play the part of a second Ashoka, the devotion of the adherents of the favoured creed received an impulse which speedily resulted in the copious production of artistic creations of no small merit.

"In literature the memory of Kanishka is associated with the names of the eminent Buddhist writers Nagarjuna, Asvaghosha and Vasumitra. Asvaghosha is described as having been a poet, musician, scholar, religious con-

32. *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, *By* E.J. Rapson.

troversialist and zealous Buddhist monk. Charaka, the most celebrated of the early Indian authors treating of medical science, is reputed to have been the court physician of Kanishka.

"Architecture, with its subsidiary art of sculpture, enjoyed the liberal patronage of Kanishka, who was like Ashoka a great builder. The tower at Peshawar built over the relics of Buddha and chiefly constructed of timber stood 400 feet high. The Sirsukh section of Taxila hides the ruins of the city built by Kanishka. A town in Kashmir, still represented by a village bore the King's name."[33]

A unique feature of Kanishka's empire was that with the capital at Peshawar its frontiers touched the borders of all the great civilizations of the time, while its Central Asian provinces lay astride the Roman-Middle East-Chinese trade routes. Roman Empire during the days of Trajan and Hadrian (98-138 A.D.) had expanded furthest East almost touching Pakistan's Kushan Empire. Similarly, Kanishka's conquests had brought Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar within Pakistan's jurisdiction effecting direct contact with China. This was one of the most important factors in providing impetus to art and architecture, science and learning in Pakistan. The best specimen of Graeco-Roman art discovered in and around Peshawar, Swat and Taxila belong to this period, mostly executed during the 2nd century A.D. in the reigns of Kanishka and his son Huvishka. The Kushans exchanged embassies with the Chinese as well as the Romans. Mark Antony had sent ambassadors, and the Kushans sent a return embassy to the court of Augustus. "In the middle of the first century of our era, one of the Tokhari princes belonging to the Kushans, Kujula Kadphises, unified the dispersed Tokhari principalities. As he grew stronger, the leader of the Kushans extended his suzerainship to the lands south of the Hindu Kush, in the Kabul Basin and on the Upper Indus. Kujula Kadphises's successors, the most prominent of whom was Kanishka (circa A.D. 78-120) kept on the expansive policy of his subcontinent (Kashmir, the Punjab and Sind). The rulers of Gujrat, Rajasthan and the states lying in the Ganges-Jumna doab were the vassals of the Kushan kings. The Kushan kings also held control of the territory of the present day Afghanistan, Kashgar, Khotan, Yarkand and the southern areas of Middle Asia. Gandhara *i.e.,* the territory lying in the valleys of the Kabul and the Middle Indus, became the centre of a vast empire. The city of Purushapura (the present-day Peshawar) is known to have been the capital of Kanishka.

33. *Oxford History of India, By* V.A. Smith.

"The Kushan empire dissolved in the third century of our era. The Iranian shahs of the Sassanid dynasty took in the western territories. Various dynasties of Middle Asia took hold of the lands north of the Hindu Kush."[34]

After ruling for over two hundred years from the middle of the 1st century A.D. to the middle of the 3rd century A.D. the Kushan Empire collapsed. Already, a few decades earlier, its frontiers had shrinked to those of Pakistan having shed the territories beyond Hindu Kush in Central Asia and eastward of Sutlej in India. The final blow was administered by Shahpur I, the head of a new dynasty of Sassanians that had emerged in Iran in 226 A.D. after a long period of anarchy prevailing for over 500 years since Alexander had eliminated the Achaemenians. "Shahpur I clearly includes in his Empire the greater part of Pakistan. Shahpur's son Narses had been made Shah of Seistan, Baluchistan and Sind and the seashore *i.e.,* Pakistan and a bit more."[35]

But this time Iran could not keep its sway over Pakistan for long. Though defeated, Kushans continued to rule over Pakistan for a considerably long period with the smaller kingdoms still retained by the redoubtable Sakas—both being Central Asian tribes. It seemed that ethnically and politically the Central Asian Turko-Mongoloid elements had become a permanent feature of Pakistan. Strong Kushan-Saka dynasties continued to exist in Kabul and Pakistan until another great event in the history of this area *i.e.,* the Hun invasions in the 5th century A.D.—some principalities survived even till the Arab conquest.

An important development had taken place in the neighbouring country of India a little earlier which deserves our attention. Buddhism, which was on the decline from the 3rd century A.D. onward was overthrown by Hinduism reasserting its lost hegemony. This process culminated with the coming into power of the Guptas by the end of the 4th century A.D. A point of considerable significance to be noted here is that though the Gupta Empire is considered one of the most glorious in the annals of Hindu history covering a vast area of this sub-continent, yet it could not bring Pakistan under its tutelage. During the Gupta period, Pakistan was in the hands of Kushan Shahis and Sassanians. Even during Samudragupta's triumphal career this region remained independent of India. "Samudragupta did not attempt to carry his arms across the Sutlej or to dispute the authority of the Kushan kings who continued to rule in and beyond the Indus basin......

34. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By* Yu. V. Gankovsky.

35. *Pakistan in Early Sassanian Times, By* M. Sprengling.

Gupta Empire—the greatest in India since the days of Ashoka—extended in the north to the base of the mountains, but did not include Kashmir."[36]

THE HUNS

Coming back to the Hun invasion it may be mentioned that this was also, like that of the Sakas, one of the greatest migrations of Central Asian nomadic tribes in the history of Pakistan and the sub-continent. The particular branch of the Huns which was encamped in the Oxus Valley and which came to Pakistan was known as Epthalite or White Huns. They were accompanied by a number of other tribes including Gurjaras. They started coming in wave after wave from the middle of the 5th century A.D. and very soon became rulers of Pakistan. One of their mighty rulers was Mehar Gul (Sunflower) whose capital was Sakala, Sialkot.

The mass immigration of Huns and Gurjaras extending over the 5th and the 6th centuries constitutes a turning point in the history of Pakistan and of northern India both politically and socially. Politically because henceforth, till the arrival of Muslims, they were the ruling class in Pakistan and in most of northern India. Socially because the origin of almost all the tribes of Pakistan and those of Rajputana is traceable to them. "No authentic family or class traditions go back beyond the Hun invasion. All genuine tradition of the earlier dynasties has been absolutely lost. The history of the Mauryas, Kushans and Guptas, so far as it is known has been recovered labourously by the researches of scholars, without material help from living tradition."[37] A large number of Afghan-Pathan tribes and most of the Rajput and Jat clans of the Punjab and Sind are, according to modern scholars, descended from the Epthalites *i.e.,* white Huns.

There was a period of confusion forming the transition from one age to another. Pakistan and north India had left the Early Period of history and entered what is generally termed as the Medieval Period. During the transition the hordes of foreign invaders were gradually absorbed into the Hindu body politic and new grouping of states began to evolve. This period was marked by the development of the Rajput clans never heard of in earlier times. They began to play highly prominent role after the death of Harsha so much so that the 500-year period from the 7th century A.D. to the 12th century A.D. (*i.e.,* till the arrival of Muslim Turks) may be called the Rajput period.

"The Hun invasions and their consequences broke the chain of historical tradition. Living clan traditions rarely if ever go back beyond the

36. *Oxford History of India.*
37. Ibid.

8th century and few go as far. The existing clan-castes only began to be formed in the 6th century. The Brahmans found their advantage in treating the new aristocracy, whatever its social origin, as representing the ancient Kshatriya class of the scriptures, and the novel term Raja-putra or Rajput, meaning king's son, or member of a ruling family or clan came in use as an equivalent of Kshatriya."[38]

During this 500-year period, again, Pakistan was under quite independent Rajput kingdoms separate from those of India. Even the Gurjara-Pratihara Empire of northern India which was one of the most important formed during this period did not include Pakistan, not even during the days of its greatest and most powerful king Raja Bhoja. "The rule of the Pratiharas had never extended across the Sutlej, and the history of the Punjab between the 7th and 10th centuries A.D. is extremely obscure."[39] At some time during this period, a powerful kingdom had been formed in Pakistan which extended from the mountains beyond the Indus, eastwards as far as the Hakra or 'lost river' in East Punjab so that it comprised a large part of the NWFP and the Punjab. At the time Mahmud Ghaznavi came into power at the end of the 10th century A.D. this kingdom was still in existence and it was with its ruler Raja Jaipal that he came into clash.

ARAB RULE

During the period of Rajput supremacy in north India *i.e.*, 7th to 12th century A.D. another event occurred in the history of Pakistan which ultimately brought about a profound change in its entire composition and character. The great Muslim soldier Mohammad Bin Qasim conquered Pakistan early in the 8th century (712 A.D.) and extended the Umayyad Muslim rule to the Indus Valley. Strangely indeed, like Alexander he travelled and subdued the whole of Pakistan from Karachi to Kashmir. The only difference between the two was that while Alexander entered Pakistan from the north, Mohammad Bin Qasim came from the south. "With a force of 6,000 men Mohammad Bin Qasim, a youth of 20 conquered and reorganised the whole country from the mouth of the Indus to the border of Kashmir, a distance of 800 miles, in 3 years. The country of Sind in those days also included the Punjab."[40]

But Mohammad Bin Qasim's conquests up to Kashmir could not be sustained by Muslims for long. The Umayyad rule had stretched too far

38. *Oxford History of India.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *The Making of India, By* Dr. Abdulla Yusuf Ali.

straining its nerves and exhausting its resources to the breaking point. From Lisbon in Portugal to Lahore in the Punjab was too long a distance to bear the strains and stresses of communication and administrative control. After Mohammad Bin Qasim's departure, therefore, Muslim rule shrinked to Sind and southern Punjab. Even in these areas several small Hindu kingdoms still held sway. However, from this period (8th century A.D.) onward Pakistan was divided into two parts for a long time; the northern one comprising of the Punjab and NWFP under a Hindu Raja and the southern one comprising of Multan, Sind and Baluchistan under various Muslim rulers. This state of affairs continued till 1000 A.D. when Mahmud Ghaznavi appeared on the scene. During this 300-year period also (712 A.D.—1000 A.D.) as can be observed from the above facts, Pakistan had hardly anything to do with India. Both the northern and southern parts were having their own independent governments—the latter owing nominal allegiance to the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphs, again looking westward.

We shall discuss the 300-year Arab rule in Pakistan in some detail in the chapter on Sind.

GHAZNAVID RULE

The next period in Pakistan's history begins with the defeat of Raja Jaipal and his son Anandpal, rulers of northern areas of Pakistan, and of the Ismaili and Carmathian rulers of southern areas *i.e.*, Multan and Sind at the hands of Mahmud Ghaznavi, leading to the unity of the two regions. Eleventh century ushered in an era of Muslim rule over the entire length and breadth of Pakistan. During the 32 years of his rule Mahmud invaded Pakistan and India more than 17 times and though he carried his successful arms up to Muthra, Kanauj, Baran and Gawaliar, he did not annex any area beyond Ravi. As such, Pakistan continued to remain separate from India, again looking westward constituting a part of the Ghaznavid Empire. The boundaries also were almost the same which had been coming down from the days of the Indus Valley Civilization. It will be noticed that this phenomena of Pakistan forming a separate country with its eastern boundaries running upto either Ravi, Beas or Sutlej has been recurring again and again.

The Ghaznavid rule in Pakistan lasted for over hundred and seventy-five years from say 1010 A.D. to 1187 A.D. It was during this period that Lahore assumed considerable importance as the eastern-most bastion of Muslim power and as an outpost for further advance in the East. It was a city of ghazis, saints and intellectuals. Apart from being the second capital and later on the only capital of Ghaznavid kingdom of Pakistan it had a

great military and strategic significance. Whoever controlled this city could look forward to and be in a position to sweep the whole of East Punjab upto to Panipat and Delhi.

Contrary to the general belief that Mahmud Ghaznavi was a Hindu-killer or destroyer of Hindu religious places, he was extremely liberal towards them. His army consisted of a large number of Hindus and some of the commanders of his army were Hindus. Sonday Rai was the Commander of Mahmud's crack regiment and took part in several important campaigns with him. The coins struck during Mahmud's reign bore his own figure on the one side and the figure of a Hindu god on the other.

Not only Mahmud Ghaznavi but his successors also were great patrons of Hindus. In fact some of the historians of the early period feel that the main cause of the fall of the Ghaznavid Empire was their excessive reliance on Hindus and the appointment of Hindus to positions of great responsibility. When in 1034 A.D. — 426 A.H., the Governor of Lahore, Ahmed Nial Tagin was suspected of rebellion, Sultan Masud Ghaznavi sent General Nath, a Hindu, to crush him. When Nath was killed in the fighting, Masud sent another of his Hindu generals, Tilak, who succeeded in killing Nial Tagin by treachery. This is the story of the Ghaznavids who are generally considered Hindu-killers.

It may be of interest to note here that Mahmud Ghaznavi's exploits of Somnath and the destruction of the temple are mentioned only by Muslim historians. No Hindu record, either contemporary or of a later date, makes any mention of it. Unfortunately some Muslim historians had the habit of painting an exaggerated picture of the campaigns of their rulers which was exploited by English and Hindu historians of our own times to present Muslim rulers as destroyers of temples.

So far one of our objects has been to underline the fact that right from the days of the Indus Valley Civilization down to the end of the Ghaznavid rule at the fall of the 12th century A.D. over a period of more than three and a half thousand years, Pakistan has been invariably a single, compact, separate entity either independent or part of powers located to her west; its dependence on or forming part of India was merely an exception and that too for an extremely short period. It was only when the Muslims established themselves at Delhi early in the 13 century A.D. that Pakistan was made a part of India, but not in the pre-Muslim period. And once Muslims' successors in the sub-continent, the British, relinquished power in the middle of the 20th century, Pakistan reverted to its normal position of an independent country. Indian propaganda that the division of this sub-continent was

unnatural and unrealistic is fake and fraudulent. Muslims had joined this region of Pakistan with India in the early 13th century A.D. when the Delhi Sultanate was formed; again Muslims have disconnected it from India giving it the normal and natural form which its geographical, ethnical, cultural and religious identity demanded.

"Barred from the east by desert and jungle, Pakistan in ancient times looked westward by land and sea. Only when, in the middle ages, powerful Islamic armies thrust through into the North Indian plains, was the traditional bias towards the west seriously modified; and even then the Indus region retained close and special cultural links with the lands which we know as Iran and Iraq."[41]

"Periods during 2500 years of history when the Punjab, which is the most important section of the north-west, has been culturally assimilated to the rest of the sub-continent, or even to North India, are few if any at all. The centuries in which the Punjab and any substantial part of North India have been politically united are also few. It is then no surprise in our time to find Pakistan looking to the West rather than to the East. For that area the strongest ties of international life are the cultural. This is a current manifestation of an ancient tradition."[42]

During this period of three thousand six hundred and fifty years, Pakistan was ruled by India only during the short 95-year period of Mauryan Empire which, for the greater part, was a Buddhist regime.

Having debunked India's claim that Pakistan was part of her territory and having established that its people, government, culture, art, architecture had an identity of their own, we shall narrate the feelings of hatred nursed by Hindus towards Pakistanis through the ages.

POST-GHAZNAVID ERA

After the conquest of Pakistan and a major portion of northern India and Bangla Desh at the end of the 12th and beginning of 13th century A.D., Mohammad Ghori appointed four Governors for the conquered regions. It should be noticed that here also Pakistan and Bangla Desh were treated as separate from India. He appointed Tajuddin Yaldaz for (Ghazna) Afghanistan, Naseruddin Qubacha for Pakistan, Qutubuddin Aibak and Shamsuddin Altamash for northern India and Bakhtiar Khilji for Bengal. When, at the death of Mohammad Ghori, Qutubuddin Aibak succeeded him in 1206, Naseruddin Qubacha, Governor of Pakistan did not consider himself or his country (Pakistan) subservient to Delhi. He remained

41. *Ancient Trade in West Pakistan*, *By* Sir Mortimer Wheeler.
42. *Pakistan and Western Area*, *By* Norman Brown.

independent as long as he was alive and it was only after his death in 1227 that Shamsuddin Altamash annexed Pakistan. From 1227 to 1739 *i.e.*, a span of 500 years, Pakistan remained a part of India—entirely Muslim period and because of Muslim efforts.

In 1739 Nadir Shah attacked India and after defeating the Mughal Emperor Mohammed Shah (Rangeela) claimed Punjab (from Lahore westward), N .W.F.P., Baluchistan and Sind as provinces of his Empire. On the death of Nader Shah one of his generals, Ahmed Shah Abdali established the kingdom of Afghanistan in 1747 and made Pakistan part of his newly created state, not only *de jure* but *de facto*. He claimed Kashmir, Peshawar, Daman, Multan, Sind and Punjab upto Sutlej. Thus it will be noticed that only a few years after Aurangzeb's death in 1707 A.D. Pakistan's westward attachements again revived.

When the Abdali kingdom weakened early in the 19th century due to internecine warfare, Pakistan did not revert to Indian control but instead an independent kingdom arose in Punjab headed by the Sikh leader Ranjit Singh. What is most interesting is that the eastern frontiers of Ranjit Singh's kingdom, again, did not go beyond Sutlej, the traditional frontier of Pakistan. The British who had established their control over Delhi in 1803 warned Ranjit Singh not to try to impose his authority on the Sikh sardars of East Punjab *i.e.*, beyond Sutlej. As for Sind, from as early as the last days of Aurangzeb, it had begun to assert its independence and a succession of semi-independent dynasties under the Daudpotas, Kalhoras and Talpurs continued to rule over this province till British conquest in 1843 A.D. All these dynasties looked more towards Iran, Kabul and Qandhar than towards Delhi. Same was the case with Baluchistan which was now under the sway of the Khanate of Kalat.

Sikh rule lasted for almost half a century and when it collapsed, Pakistan was again brought under India, not by the Hindus but by an alien power, the British. After ruling over Pakistan for about a century (1848-1947) when the British relinquished control, these lands reverted back to their normal position of an independent country—this time the task was accomplished in the name of Islamic ideology since the region had acquired Muslim majority by now.

It must have become quite clear to the readers that except for the Maurya, Turko-Mughal and British periods—one Buddhist, one Islamic and one Christian—Pakistan invariably remained independent or part of powers located on her west. In fact there have been more occasions when northern India was ruled by Pakistan based kingdoms than Pakistan

being ruled by northern Indian kingdoms. The Graeco-Bactrians with their capital at Taxila ruled over a large part of northern India for quite some time; the Kushans with their seat of power at Peshawar held sway over most of the Gangetic Valley. The Sakas and Huns ruling from various cities of Pakistan brought major portion of northern India under their control.

PAKISTAN FROM 2500 B.C. TO 1973 A.D.

	Name of Civilization or Dynasty	Approximate date of commencement	Approximate date of Fall	Total number of years ruled	Status
1.	Indus Valley Civilization.	2500 B.C.	1500 B.C.	1000	Independent, separate from India.
2.	Aryan Period (First settlement was confined to Pakistan).	1500 „	1000 „	500	-do-
3.	Post-Aryan un-known period (After Aryans left Pakistan en mass and settled in the Gangetic Valley).	1000 „	522 „	478	-do-
4.	Small semi-independent states.	522 „	326 „	196	Under the suzerainty of Iran's Kayani Empire.
5.	Conquered by Alexander and remained under his successor.	326 „	300 „	26	Under Greek rulers; not part of India.
6.	Province of Mauryan Empire which included Afghanistan.	300 „	200 „	100	**Part of India; mostly Buddhist rule.**
7.	Graeco-Bactrian period.	200 „	100 „	100	Independent; not part of India.
8.	Saka-Parthian period.	100 B.C.	70 A.D.	170	-do-
9.	Kushan Rule (1st Phase).	70 A.D.	250 „	180	Pakistan-based kingdom ruled over major portion of northern India.
10.	Kushan Rule (2nd Phase).	250 „	450 „	200	Independent, separate from India.

11.	White Huns and allied tribes (1st Phase)	450 A.D.	650 A.D.	200	Pakistan-based kingdoms ruled over parts of northern India.
12.	White Huns (2nd Phase — mixed with other races).	650 „	1010 „	360	Independent, Rajput-Brahmin Kingdoms; not part of India.
13.	Ghaznavids	1010 „	1187 „	177	Part of Ghaznavid Empire, separate from India.
14.	Ghorid and Qubacha periods.	1187 „	1227 „	40	Independent; not part of India.
15.	Muslim period (Slave dynasty, Khiljis, Tughlaqs, Syeds, Lodhis, Suris and Mughals).	1227 „	1739 „	512	**Under northern India based Muslim Govts.**
16.	Nadir Shah and Abdali periods.	1739 „	1800 „	61	Iranian and Afghan suzerainty; not part of India.
17.	Sikh Rule (in Punjab, NWFP and Kashmir), Talpur rule in Sind and Khanate of Kalat in Baluchistan.	1800 „	1848 „	48	Independent states; not part of India.
18.	British Rule.	1848 „ (1843 in the case of Sind)	1947 „	99	**Part of India under foreign power**
19.	Muslim rule under the nomenclature of Pakistan.	1947 „	1973 onwards	26 so far	Independent; not part of India.
	Total period covered:			4,473	Years.

The above table reveals that during the 4,473 years of Pakistan's known history, this country was part of India for a total period of 711 years of which 512 years were covered by the Muslim period and about 100 years each by the Mauryan (mostly Buddhist) and British (Christian) periods. Can anybody agree with the Indian claim that Pakistan was part of India and that Partition was un-natural? It hardly needs much intelligence to understand that Pakistan always had her back towards India and face towards the countries on her west. This is true both culturally and commercially.

Having debunked India's claim that Pakistan was part of her territory and having established that its people, government, culture, art, architecture had an identity of their own, we shall narrate the feelings of hatred nursed by Hindus towards Pakistan through the ages.

HINDU DHARMA AND PAKISTAN

Almost all the religious books of the Hindus, particularly the Dharma Shastras regarded Sakas and Yavanas, the inhabitants of Pakistan in those days, as M'leechas (unclean). The Atharva-veda regarded Pakistan as outlandish. Similarly, they were unanimous in considering Vangals *i.e.*, Bengalees, as barbarous, outside the pale of Aryans—outcastes, outsiders. Further, they were all termed dasyus (slaves) and rakashas (devils). According to a passage in the Mahabharata, Yavanas and Gandharas (people of Pakistan) and Vangals (Bangla Deshis) are sinful creatures of the earth. They did not respect the Brahmins and their religion; did not follow their laws, spoke different language and were therefore detested and despised by the Aryan high castes. Inter-mixture with them was prohibited. Patanjali speaks of Yavanas and Sakas as sudras and relegates them outside Aryavarta.[1]

"The strange fact is that the basin of the Indus, and the Punjab West of Sutlej came to be regarded as impure land by the Brahmans of interior India at quite an early date. Orthodox Hindus are still unwilling to cross the Indus, and the whole of West Punjab between that river and the Sutlej is condemned as unholy ground, unfit for the residence of strict votaries of Dharma."[2]

"The Jats' spirit of freedom and equality refused to submit to Brahmanical Hinduism and in its turn drew the censure of the privileged Brahmins of the Gangetic plain who pronounced that 'No Aryan should stay in the Punjab for even two days because the Punjabis refused to obey the priests."[3]

"The inroads of those foreigners blotted out the memory of the Aryan immigration from the North-West (*i.e.*, Pakistan) which is not traceable either in the popular puranic literature or in the oral traditions of the people. To the east of Sutlej (*i.e.*, East Punjab—India) the Aryans were usually safe from foreign invasions and free to work out their own way of life undisturbed. They proceeded to do so and thus to create Hinduism with its inseparable institution of caste."[4]

"It is noteworthy that according to the Bandayana Dharma Shastra the Indus Valley was considered impure and outside the limits of Aryandom

1. *A History of Indian Culture, By* Radhakumad Mukherjee.
2. *Oxford History of India, By* V.A. Smith, 3rd Edition, edited *By* Percival Spear.
3. *A History of the Sikhs, By* Kushwant Singh.
4. *Oxford History of India, By* V.A. Smith, 3rd Edition, edited *By* Percival Spear.

proper. Any one who went there had to perform sacrifices of purification on return."[5]

The Brhat-Samhita mentions Vokkana country as situated in the western region of India (Pakistan). In Chapter XVI, V. 35, Varaha Mihira includes the Vokkana among those belonging to Rahu, together with barbarians, evil-doers and the like.[6]

"In later vedic literature there are references to confederation of un-Aryan tribes living in the north-east and north-west of the sub-continent in the first half of the first millennium B.C. Pundra and Vanga in Bengal, Madra in the Ravi-Chenab Doab."[7]

"While the Aryans by now expanded far into India their old home in the Punjab and the north-west was practically forgotten. Later Vedic literature mentions it rarely and then usually with disparagement and contempt, as an impure land where the Vedic sacrifices are not performed."[8]

"Both Buddhism and Jainism flourished in Sind and it had revolted against the superiority of Brahmins. They ignored God and denied the Vedas."[9]

It might have been noticed that by the beginning of the Christian era the racial and ethnic character of Pakistan had undergone complete transformation. Whatever Aryan, or Iranian elements were left had almost disappeared in the avalanche of Central Asian Saka and Kushan tribes whose disregard of strict Hindu principles antagonised the high caste Hindus, ultimately leading to the mass conversion of Pakistan to Buddhism during Kanishka's time. With this development, the differences in ethnic and racial composition between Pakistanis and Indians also assumed religious colour. It was because of the hatred for the people of Pakistan that, as already stated, the Hindus never built any holy city or temple or regarded any river in Pakistan sacred. The Punjab Gazetteer Vol. XX says that "the Punjab can show but few Hindu antiquities." It may also be noted that the remains of pre-Vedic (Indus Valley Civilization) and Buddhist periods are found in Pakistan but not of the Hindu period which came between the two and again appeared to a limited extent after the fall of Buddhism.

"The Aryans who settled down in the Gangetic Valley had come to their journey's end after a very long and arduous march. The rich and

5. *Tribes in Ancient India, By* B.C. Law.
6. Roruka: *Was it Mohinjo Daro?, By* Pranavitana (Studies in Asian History: Proceedings of the Asian History Congress held at New Delhi in 1961).
7. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By* Yu. V. Gankovsky.
8. *The Wonder that was India, By* A.L. Bhasham.
9. *Sindhi Culture, By* U.T. Thakur.

fertile doab of the Ganges was the baikuntha, according to their heart's desire. To entrench themselves in this paradise they took two measures:

(i) they adopted the policy of apartheid (the caste system); and

(ii) they made earnest efforts to turn the two marginal lands into buffer zones and to seal their nearer borders (*i.e.*, the eastern border of the western wing and *vice versa*) against foreign intrusions.

For their further expansion and colonisation they took north-south bearings. This vertical lay-out of this Hindu (Neo-Aryan) map of the sub-continent is the key to the understanding of geo-history of this part of the world. Vishnu Purana (II, 3.1) thus delineates the land of Bharat:

The country that lies north of the ocean and south of the snowy mountains is called Bharata; there dwell the descendants of Bharata;

Kautilya, the Hindu Machiavelli, spoke of the "thousand Yojanas (leagues) of land that stretch from the Himalayas to the sea" as "the proper domain of chakravartia patha (a single universal emperor)". This north-south (vertical) lay-out of the land of Bharata has been well summed up in the famous aphorism: Himalachala setu paryantam, *i.e.*, from the Himalayas to the end of the land (Rameswaram). Vishnu Purana (11. 127-9) gives the geo-political reason for the vertical lay-out of Bharat; it states:

On the east of Bharata dwell the Kiratas (the barbarians); on the west, the Yavanas (the outlandish Greeks); in the centre reside Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishayas and Sudras.

To protect the blue-blooded and blond Aryans from the contamination of the "demoniac" (Ashuras), "wild" and "carrion-eating" (Paisachas) and outlandish" (Yavana)—people of the western wing and the "barbaric" and "boorish" Kiratas, Pundras and Vangas of the eastern marginal land, the Hindu shastras laid down strict rules. The Dharma Sutra (II, 1.2.2) of Baudhayana states:

Who visits the country of the Arattas (the Punjab), or of the Pundras and Vangas (Northern and Eastern Bengal) must perform a purificatory sacrifice.

The Sutras and the Puranas are relatively late compositions. We find that the Aryan aversion for the people of the rimland had developed quite early during their migration from the land of the Seven Rivers. The Satapatha Brahmanas of the "White" Yajur-Veda (OX. 31 18) show that the emigrant Aryans regarded those Aryan tribes, that were still in the basin of the Indus, with mistrust. The Aitareya Brahmana of the Rigveda states

that beyond Magadha lived the Pundras of North Bengal and the Vangas of Central and Eastern Bengal who were outside the pale of Aryandom. The Mahabharata speaks of the Bahikas of the Punjab "who are outcasts from righteousness, who are shut out from the Himavat, the Ganga, the Sarasvati, the Yamuna, and Kurukshetra, and who dwell between the Five Rivers" (VIII 202, 9 ft.) It further lays down:

In the region where the Five Rivers flow let no Aryan dwell there even for two days. There they have no Vedic ceremony nor any sacrifice. (V, 20, 63).

"The imperialist Hindu chakravartins did not always follow these rules of their Shastras. Whenever they found themselves powerful enough they invaded, pillaged and annexed as much of the portions of the marginal lands as they could. This expansionist hunger of the Hindus has not been satiated to this day. However, though they protested vehemently against "the vivisection of Bharat Mata" yet they never ceased to regard the marginal lands as impure. A remarkable evidence of their constancy in this respect is the fact that while the length and breadth of Bharat is studded with their tirathas,—holy towns, *e.g.*, Kurukshetra in Hariana, Kashi (Benaras), Mathura, Haridwar, (Hardwar), Prayaga (Allahabad) and Ayodhya (Faizabad) in U.P.; Gaya in Bihar; Navadvipa (Nadiya) in West Bengal; Cuttack Puri in Orissa; Avantika (Ujjain) in central India; Dvaraka in Gujrat; Kanchi and Ramesvaram in the south; holy rivers all over Bharat, and their holier confluences,—not a single notable tiratha ever existed in what is now Pakistan."[10]

The cleavage, as such, is not new as Indians try to make out; and what is more, the cleavage is not due to Islam only as they further try to stress. It is age-old, has its roots deep in history and is not only temperamental and spiritual but racial as well as geo-political.

It is indeed strange for the Hindus to claim Pakistan as part of Ahkand Bharat on the basis of history when the entire history not only thoroughly disproves the claim but, on the contrary, amply bears out that Hindus themselves have regarded it as outside Aryavarta, as an impure land, not fit for their holy places; a land inhabited by sinners outside their fold.

This single, compact bloc of Pakistan from Kashmir to the Arabian Sea has had a distinct history, a different culture, a uniform ethnical composition, a casteless social pattern, a pragmatic approach to life, a positive

10. *Islam in the Geo-historical Perspective of Pakistan, By* S. Qudratullah Fatimi, Daily DAWN, Karachi, dated 20th September, 1968.

attitude towards world problems; broad-minded in religious affairs, large-hearted in business, international in outlook, invariably looking westward, always prepared to give and take, ever willing to absorb foreign ideas and eager to spread its own ideology abroad. It was from these lands that the Buddhist philosophy spread to Central Asia and China; it was from its brilliant centres of learning that the Graeco-Bactrian art radiated eastward, and it was from these regions that Islam made its spiritual and temporal conquests in the sub-continent. Every wave of immigration infused fresh blood in its veins and imparted subtle and sustained optimism to its life. The constant struggle for survival gave its people sturdiness and stamina, perseverance and punch. Bold and bellicose, valiant and vigorous, the people of Pakistan have always been considered among world's best.

All this stands in sharp contrast to what the Gangetic Valley produced and stood for. Theirs was an inward looking culture: narrow, oppressive, class conscious, suffocating; averse to a policy of give and take, antagonistic to innovation, opposed to momentum, inimical to universalism. It was static and stagnant, parochial and puerile, passive and pessimistic.

Having made a brief study of the general history of Pakistan and the attitude of the Hindus towards this country through the ages, we shall review the historical background of the people inhabiting its various regions.

THE AFGHANS/PATHANS

Between South Asia, Central Asia and the Iranian plateau of Sijistan lies a triangular shaped territory studded by bare and barren mountains covering an area of approximately 250,000 sq. miles. Starting from Dir in the north, this triangle runs along the Indus, takes a westward turn a few miles south of Dera Ismail Khan, and embracing within its fold Loralai, Sharigh, Degari, Harnai, Quetta, Pishin, Chaman and Qandahar extends up to Herat. From here it curves north-east and following the foothills of Hindu Kush comes back to Dir. This region includes the major portion of NWFP, a part of Quetta Division of Baluchistan and three-fourths of Afghanistan. In this triangular-shaped, hilly country divided between Afghanistan and Pakistan lives the world's largest group of tribesmen numbering over 25 million ($2\frac{1}{2}$ crores) variously called Afghans, Pathans or Pakhtuns.

Any attempt to delve deep into the history of these interesting people and find out their origin would prove baffling. But strangely indeed their history has attracted the attention of an unusually large number of scholars. In the modern period more and more western historians and researchers are taking keen interest in the past of this region and its people. But the larger the literature on the subject, the greater the difference of opinion and deeper the confusion.

The difficulty arises because of the fact that the area is inhabited by a large number of tribes each of which makes different claims about its origin. The confusion becomes worse confounded when it is found that these claims do not conform to historical evidence and do not agree with the conclusions arrived at by the researchers. In view of this peculiar situation, it is proposed to give only the consensus of opinion and to simplify matters as far as possible. Many Pathans may not agree with what has been stated here; but unfortunately the nature of the subject is such that an agreement even on broad outlines seems difficult.

Let us first discuss the origin of the names Pathan and Afghan. The term Pakhtun or Pashtun, according to Raverty, is derived from the Persian word 'Pusht' meaning 'back'. Since the tribes lived on the back of the mountains, Persians called them Pashtun which is also pronounced Pakhtun. Some scholars think that the word Pashtun or Pakhtun comes from the old Iranian words parsava parsa meaning robust men, knights. In Indian languages it was spelt as Pakhtana or Pathan. Herodotus and several other Greek and Roman historians have mentioned a people called 'Paktye'

living on the eastern frontier of Iran. By the word Paktye they meant the people of the frontier. (According to the Encyclopaedia of Islam the word Pathan is from the Sanskrit word Pratisthana). Muslim historians from Al-Biruni onward called them Afghans, never using the word Pathan which expression was extensively employed by the Hindus. "No Afghan or speaker of Pashtu ever referred to himself as a Pathan and the word is an Indian usage."[1]

"It is significant that neither Ibn Batuta nor Baber mention the word 'Pathan'. Baber gives the names of many east Afghanistan tribes, but nowhere does he mention Pathans, Pakhtuns or Pashtuns. He calls the people Afghans and their language, Afghani."[2]

As for the word Afghan, it appears in the inscriptions of Shahpur I at Naksh-e-Rustam which mentions a certain Goundifer Abgan Rismaund. According to Sprengler, a similar name 'Apakan' occurs as the designation of the later Sassanian Emperor Shahpur III. "The word Afghan, though of unknown origin, first appears in history in the Hudud-al-Alam, a work by an unknown Arab geographer who wrote in 982 A.D."[3] But according to the Encyclopaedia of Islam "the first mention of the Afghans in written history is in the Chronicle of al-Utbi in Tarikh-e-Yamini and an almost contemporary mention by al-Biruni. Utbi records that Sabuktagin enrolled Afghans in his army." Another version states that the earliest recorded use of the name Afghan is by the Indian astronomer, Varaha-Mihira of the 6th century A.D. in the form Avagana.[4]

"The supposition that the Pathans are any different from the Afghans is not borne out either by the legendary accounts associated with the origin of this people or by historical or ethnological data."[5] Both Bellew and Longworth Dames consider the two terms as appellation of a common people. There is no racial difference between the two. The two words are synonymous referring to one and the same people though a few writers try to make a distinction between Afghans and Pathans which is ephemeral.

For instance, some authors maintain that only those tribes living in southern Afghanistan, particularly between Herat and Qandhar and who speak Persian should be called Afghans while others living in the rest of Afghanistan, NWFP and Baluchistan speaking Pashtu language should be called Pathans. What they mean is that those who speak Pashtu are Pathans

1. *The Pathans, By* Sir Olaf Caroe.
2. *Afghan Immigration in the Early Middle Ages, By* K.S. Lal.
3. *Afghanistan, By* W.K. Frazer Tytler.
4. Encyclopaedia of Britannica.
5. *Afghan Immigration in the Early Middle Ages, By* K.S. Lal.

and those of them who speak Persian are Afghans. Sir Olaf Caroe makes a distinction between the Afghans and the Pathans on the basis of the hillsmen and plainsmen. He thinks that those living in the fertile plains of Qandhar, Herat, Kabul and Peshawar should be called Afghans and those living in the hills, Pathans. Lt. Gen. George McMunn divides Afghans into three groups: Abdalis, Ghilzais and Pathans.[6] But, as already stated, such distinctions are confusing and will lead nowhere. All should be called either Afghans or Pathans.

There has, however, been no dispute over the name of the language they speak. It is called by one name only *i.e.,* Pashtu. But its origin, again, is disputed. Most of the authors are agreed that "it is both in origin and structure an Iranian language which has borrowed freely from the Indo-Aryan group."[7] But one of the greatest authorities on the Pathans, Morgenstierne, on the other hand, feels that it is probably a Saka dialect from the north. The general opinion, however, is that Pashtu is a branch of the original Iranian language called Pahlawi.

CLAIMS ABOUT ORIGIN

The triangle between the Indus, Hindu Kush and the Sijistan plateau of Iran is populated by an assorted group of tribesmen some of them living in plains and valleys and others in mountains interspersed over the entire length and breadth of this triangle. As already stated this is the largest conglomeration of tribal people in the world.

We shall begin with the accounts of their origin as given by later Muslim historians. According to Niamatulla's Makhzan-i-Afghani and Hamdulla Mustaufi's Tarikh-i-Guzida: one of Prophet Ibrahim's descendants, Talut (or Saul) had two sons, one of whom was named Irmiya or Jeremia. Irmiya had a son named Afghan, who is supposed to have given the name to the Afghan people. Tareekh-e-Sher Shahi states that Bakht Nasr who invaded Jerusalem and destroyed it, expelled Jewish tribes, including sons of Afghan, from their homeland. During the days of the Babylonian captivity when the Jews were scattered, one of the tribes settled in the Hari Rud area of modern (south) Afghanistan. Pathan legend states that they accepted Islam during the time of the Prophet when a group of their kinsmen (Jews) living in Arabia sent word to them that the true Prophet of God as prophesied in their scriptures had appeared in Mecca. The Afghans, the story goes, sent a delegation to Arabia headed by one Imraul Qais who met the Prophet, embraced Islam, came back and converted the

6. *Afghanistan from Darius to Amanullah, By* Lt. Gen. Dir George McMunn.
7. *The Pathans, By* Sir Olaf Caroe.

entire tribe to the new religion. The Prophet was so pleased with Qais that he gave him the name of Abdur Rashid, called him Malik (king) and Pehtan (keel or rudder of a ship) for showing his people the path of Islam.

The story proceeds: Qais Alias Abdur Rashid Alias Pehtan had three sons named Sarban, Batan and Ghurghust. Most of the present-day Afghan/Pathan tribes claim descent from these three persons. Batan had a daughter named Bibi Matto. She fell in love with Hussain Shah, a prince of Turkish origin, and their intimacy reached a stage where her pregnancy could not be concealed. Marriage was the only course open, but the off-spring, a boy, was given the name of Ghilzai, meaning in the Afghan language a son 'born of theft'. Bibi Matto's next son was Ibrahim who, because of his intelligence and wisdom, was addressed by Qais as Loi-dey (Lodi), *i. e.*, Ibrahim is great. Two of Loi-dey's grandsons were Pranki and Ismail. Bahlul Lodhi, the founder of the Afghan empire of Delhi, was eight generations from Pranki and was a member of the Sahukhel tribe of the Lodhis. The Suris and Nuhanis are descended from Ismail's two sons Sur and Nuh. Thus the Ghilzais (Khiljis), Lodhis, Suris, Nuhanis, and their branches, the Sarwanis and Niazis are common descendants of Bibi Matto from her Turkish husband Hussain Shah.

The major tribes of Afghans named above, it must have been noted, should be of Turkish origin as they are descended from the Turkish prince Hussain Shah who married the Afghan girl Matto, daughter of Batan and grand-daughter of Qais Abdur Rashid. Thus, according to their own accounts there would be two groups of Afghans, one of Jewish (Semitic) origin and the other of Turkish origin.

Qais Abdur Rashid

Sarban — Batan — Ghurghust

Batan: Matto = Shah Hussain

Matto = Shah Hussain: Ghilzai — Ibrahim Loi-Dey (Lodi)

Ibrahim Loi-Dey (Lodi): Pranki — Ismail

Ismail: Sur — Nuh

There is a third group of Afghans called Hazaras living in the hazarajat areas of Afghanistan. They are said to be descended from the remnants of the Mongol armies which had come along with Changez Khan or during later Mongol inroads. The origin of the Hazara Afghans, as such, is Mongol.

Regarding the large number of tribes living on both sides of Pak-Afghan border such as Shinwaris, Mohmands, Mahsuds, Khattaks, Afridis, Orakzais, Achakzais, Bannuchis, Waziris, Bangash, Yusufzais, etc., some trace their origin to Aryans, others to Greeks who had come with Alexander, some to the Jews and still others to the Caucasians. "The Kalnari tribes of today: the Waziris, Bannuchis, Khattaks, Bangash, Orakzais, Afridis and the rest are sprung from an indigenous stock not Pushtu-speaking and became fused with or overlaid by Pushtu and Pushtu-speaking peoples learning in the process the language of the dominant race. The Kalnaris are not Afghans in the true line and may be much older established."[8]

"The original Afghans are a race of probably Jewish or Arab extraction; and they together with a tribe of Indian origin with which they have long been blended still distinguish themselves as the true Afghans, or since the rise of Ahmad Shah Durrani as Durranis, and class all non-Durrani Pushto speakers as Opra. But they have lately given their name to Afghanistan, the country formerly known as Khorasan.

"All inhabitants of Afghanistan are now in comon parlance known as Afghans, the races thus included being the Afghan proper, the Pathan proper, the Gilzai, the Tajik and the Hazara, besides tribes of less importance living on the confines of the country."[9]

Of late, scholars in Afghanistan are seriously absorbed in research to prove that Afghans are neither of Jewish, nor Turkish nor Mongol nor Greek origin but of pure Aryan stock. They are taking pains to demonstrate that the original home of Aryans was Afghanistan by pointing out the similarity in the names of several places in their country with those mentioned in the Rig Veda.

Thus, the different tribes of Afghans/Pathans have different claims, racially as divergent as the Semitics and the Aryans, Greeks and the Turks, Mongols and the Caucasians. However, leaving aside the claims, there is another aspect of this issue which has great substance, weight and research behind it. This aspect is the conclusions arrived at recently by the Western scholars after a careful study of the historical and cultural developments

8. *The Pathans, By* Sir Olaf Caroe.

9. *The Pnnjab Castes, By* Denzil Ibbetson.

of the region and its people. Based on the information obtained from latest excavations and the data collected in a specific manner, modern scholars have expressed certain views on the origin of the Afghans/Pathans which cannot be brushed aside lightly or treated flippantly. They aver that the origin of the Afghan/Pathan is something different. Let us briefly study their views.

ORIGIN AS TRACED BY MODERN SCHOLARS

They are of the view that there might have been some settlements of the Jews in the area in 800 B.C. or so; similarly, some remnants of the Aryans might have been left in the inaccessible mountains in days of yore; and that there did exist some Greek and Iranian colonies here and there. But from 1st century B.C. to 5th century A.D., during a span of 600 years, this area witnessed three immigrations from Central Asia of such gigantic magnitude—those of the Sakas, Kushans, Huns and Gujjars—that everything was swept before them, overwhelmed by them and submerged in them. In short, hardly any previous group whether Aryan, Jewish, Greek or Iranian could retain its identity.

Western scholars, therefore, maintain that an overwhelming majority of the Afghan/Pathan tribes are positively descended from the Sakas, Kushans, Huns and Gujjars. Some of the scholars point out the possibility of the word Abdali being another form of Epthalite by which name the White Huns (the ancestors of Rajputs) were known. Grierson finds a form Paithan in use in the East Gangetic Valley to denote a Muslim Rajput. Bellew, one of the greatest authorities on Pathans, notes that several characteristics are common to both the Rajputs and Afghans and suggests that Sarban, one of the ancestors of the Afghans, was a corruption of the word Suryabans (solar race) from which many Rajputs claim descent.[10] The great Muslim historian Masudi writes that Qandahar was a separate kingdom with a non-muslim ruler and states that 'it is a country of Rajputs'. It would be pertinent to mention here that at the time of Masudi most of the Afghans were concentrated in Qandahar and adjacent areas and had not expanded to the north. Therefore, it is highly significant that Masudi should call Qandahar a Rajput country.

Since the modern state of Afghanistan and the N.W.F.P. Province of Pakistan were the main regions through which Central Asian tribes passed and in which they settled down, it is impossible that these areas should have remained uncolonised and the blood of their inhabitants unsullied. There-

10. Bellew: Races of Afghanistan.

fore, it can be safely concluded that the present day Afghans/Pathans are mostly, notwithstanding their claims, the descendants of Central Asian tribes of Sakas, Kushans, Huns and Gujjars. It need hardly be pointed out that from them are also descended the major tribes of the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan.

Just as the present-day Greeks are Slavs and not of the same race as Alexander and Aristotle, so also is the case with the present-day Afghans and Pathans. According to the Encyclopaedia of Islam, the theory of the Jewish descent of Afghans is of later origin and may be traced back to Maghzan-e-Afghani compiled for Khan-e-Jehan Lodhi in the reign of Mughal Emperor Jehangir and does not seem to have been recorded before the end of the 16th century A.D. Prior to this period no other book mentions that Afghans are descended from jewish tribes. The Jewish books also don't mention anywhere that Saul's son Jeremia had a son named Afghan from whom Afghans claim descent.

Similarly, the story of Qais Abdur Rashid having gone from Afghanistan to Arabia to meet the Prophet and after returning to his country having converted the Afghans to Islam also does not stand the scrutiny of history. Muslim historians Ibn Haukal, Utbi and Alberuni are unanimous in the view that uptill the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi *i.e.,* almost four hundred years after the death of the Prophet, most of the Afghans were still Buddhists or Hindus. Mahmud Ghaznavi 'had to fight against the infidel Afghans in the Sulaiman mountains.' Even 200 years later in the encounter between Mohammad Ghori and Prithviraj in 1192 A.D., according to Farishta, Hindu Afghans were fighting on the side of the Rajput Chief. The fact that the Afghans should have joined the Rajput confederacy of Prithviraj may also indicate some sort of kinship between them.

On this subject the views of the Russian scholar Yu V. Gankovsky are also interesting. He says: "My opinion is that the formation of the union of largely East-Iranian tribes which became the initial ethnic stratum of the Pashtun ethnogenesis dates from the middle of the first millennium A.D. and is connected with the dissolution of the Epthalite (White Huns) confederacy. In the areas north of the Hindu Kush some of the tribes of this confederacy participated in the formation of the nationalities who inhabit Middle Asia today, and, among other tribes, in the formation of the Turkmen and Uzbek nationalities. This is attested, among other things, in the records of genonimy which indicate that among the Turkmen and Uzbeks (as well as among the Lokai) there occurs the ethnonym Abdal descending

from the name of an Epthalite tribal union (Abdals, Abdel). South of the Hindu Kush, another part of the Epthalite tribes lost their privileged status as the military stronghold of the ruling dynasty and was ousted into the thinly peopled areas of the Sulaiman mountains, areas where there were not enough water supplies and grazing grounds. There they became a part of the tribal union which formed the basis of the Pashtun ethnogenesis.

"Of the contribution of the Epthalites (White Huns) to the ethnogenesis of the Pashtuns we find evidence in the ethnonym of the largest of the Pashtun tribe unions, the Abdali (Durrani after 1747) associated with the ethnic name of the Epthalites—Abdal. The Siah-posh, the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush, called all Pashtuns by a general name of Abdal still at the beginning of the 19th century.

"It is not impossible that certain Kushan-Tokharian elements also took part in the formation of the Pashtun ethnic community. In this connection it is worthwhile to note the fact cited by G. Morgenstierne: among the Ormuri the Pashtuns are known under the ethnic names 'kas' *i.e.,* Kushan. A number of Pakhtun tribes belong to the Ormuri group. They are Afridis, Orakzais, Khattaks, Khugiani, etc."

This treatise of Prof. Gankovsky forcefully puts forward the view that the Afghans-Pakhtuns are the descendants of Epthalite (White Huns) and Kushans who were also the ancestors of Rajputs and Jats who form an overwhelming majority of the People of Punjab and Sind.

HISTORICAL ROLE

It will be noticed on the map that the triangular shaped territory inhabited by the Afghans/Pathans is sandwitched between Iran and the Indo-Pak sub-continent. And since large and powerful empires often rose in both these areas, the tribal territory was invariably divided between them—the southern tract of Quetta-Qandahar-Herat going to Iran and the northern tract of Peshawar-Jalalabad-Kabul attached to the sub-continent.

In addition, whenever the Central Asian tribes intruded, they established their own hold in the entire tribal belt. The rivalries and discords inherent in tribal blood prevented them from ever forging unity and presenting a united front. Their country had no name and no independent existence of its own. Their history is part of the history of Central Asia, Iran and sub-continent. Nevertheless, though they did not have independence in their own country, several Afghan families ruled over the sub-continent, played a signiffcant role in its life and exercised a profound influence on the course of its history. It is in this context that we shall briefly review Afghan history.

The first time the Afghans had their contact with this sub-continent was at the dawn of the 11th century A.D. when Mahmud Ghaznavi appeared on the scene. It is related that the Turkish monarch of Ghazna, Subuktagin, had married an Afghan lady whose offspring was Mahmud. After defeating Jaipal and later his son Anandpal, at the end of the 10th century A.D. when Mahmud Ghaznavi started his campaigns in the sub-continent, he recruited a large number of Afghan soldiers in his army. Al Utbi, Ghaznavid historian writing in the 11th century A.D., speaks of Afghans as included in Mahmud's armies. As mentioned earlier, Mahmud's kingdom was confined to Pakistan who joined its northern and southern portions by eliminating the Hindu Shahi of the Punjab and NWFP and the Ismaili/Carmathian rulers of Multan and Sind. Ghaznavid rule in Pakistan continued for about a couple of centuries during which period Afghans began to trickle in these regions. Till this time the entire Afghan community had not accepted Islam and there were still quite considerable number of Hindus and Buddhists among them. Al-Beruni in his "Tarikh al Hind" wrote in 1000 A.D.: "There live various tribes of the Afghans which extend up to the Sind Valley. They are rebellious, savage races." He designates them as mainly Hindus.

The coming of the Ghorids at the end of the 12th century A.D. brought in larger number of Afghans to the sub-continent. The commanders of Ghori's armies were mostly Turks but the bulk of his soldiers were Afghans. One of the Afghan commanders of Ghori, Ikhtiaruddin Bakhtyar Khilji, conquered eastern Bihar and northern Bengal, overpowering one of the Hindu rulers of the latter region in a sensational manner with only 18 horsemen. With the establishment of the Turkish slave dynasty at Delhi under Qutbuddin Aibak in 1206 Afghan influx began on a sizeable scale in the whole of northern India from Indus to the Brahmaputra.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN TURKS AND AFGHANS FOR SUPREPMACY

During the six hundred years of Muslim rule in the sub-continent, roughly from 1200 A.D. to 1800 A.D., one notable aspect was Turk-Afghan struggle for supremacy. Though the Afghans succeeded on several occasions, their rule was invariably short-lived because of tribal rivalries and internecine warfare. But the Afghans never gave up hope and always had an eye on the government of either the entire sub-continent or of some of its provinces.

According to Sir Olaf Caroe: "The Turks were a small band of chosen favourites; the soldiers and later the rulers were Khiljis

or Pathans. It was a veritable Afghan expansion."[11] As the students of sub-continent's history are aware, after the death of Mohammad Ghori, slave dynasty was established at Delhi in 1206. This dynasty, which continued till 1290 was entirely dominated by Turks of the Ilbari tribe. But the moment their rule degenerated under Muizuddin Kaikobad (1287-90) the Afghans, who were always looking for an opportunity to assume power, dethroned Shamsuddin Kaimurs, the last ruler of the Turkish slave dynasty and installed their leader Jalaluddin Khilji as ruler of the Delhi Sultanate. But their rule did not last more than thirty years when, taking advantage of the weakness of Khilji ruler Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, the Turks again asserted themselves by bringing in an extremely capable general of the time, Ghyasuddin Tughlaq, as ruler of Delhi in 1320. An outstanding feature of this 30-year Khilji rule, however, was that it produced one of the most powerful sovereigns that ever ruled in this sub-continent. Alauddin Khilji "probably controlled a greater area of the peninsula than any before him or after him, Hindu, Buddhist or Muslim, Maurya or Mughal until the British."[12] He was also one of the greatest and most efficient administrators that the world has produced. "He laid the foundation of an administrative and revenue system later perfected by Sher Shah and Akbar."[13]

Though the Tughlaq Turks also produced some able and brilliant rulers, yet the empire that Alauddin Khilji had built up disintegrated during their period—independent Muslim kingdoms having sprung up in the east, south and south-west. It was the weakness of the Tughlaqs that brought Amir Taimur to India in 1398 A.D. resulting in great loss of life and property.

THE LODHIS

On the decline of the Syed dynasty which had been set up after Taimur's invasion (1414 A.D. to 1451 A.D.), the Afghans again girded up their loins and established their rule under the leadership of Lodhis. It is related that the founder of the dynasty, Bahlul Lodhi, was born after his mother expired in a house collapse. Miraculously, the child remained unhurt. Another interesting event is ascribed to Bahlul. There was a certain darvesh (holy person) in Delhi named Shaida who was one day heard repeating the words: "who will pay me Rs. 2,000/- to buy the kingdom of Delhi?" None paid him any attention. But Bahlul, who was passing that way took the darvesh's words seriously, brought his entire saving of

11. *The Pathans, By* Sir Olaf Caroe.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

Rs. 1600/- and paid the whole amount to him. Upon this the darvesh said: "Shah bash, beta" meaning 'son, you have become king.'

The first two kings of this dynasty, Bahlul Lodhi and Sikander Lodhi were capable rulers and even the third and last one, Ibrahim Lodhi, had quite a commendable record. It was the Afghan policy of tolerance and their efforts to bring Hindus and Muslims closer that gave birth to important religious movements in India which had deep and far-reaching consequences. Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya, Vallabha Charya and Ramanuj, each of whom was the leader of a particular school of thought, were born during the Lodhi period. "Seldom in Medieval India had a monarch devoted himself so zealously to the cultivation of the arts of peace as Sikander Lodhi. He himself was a poet and wrote under the pen-name of 'Gul Rukh'. It was during Sikander's reign that Hindus turned their attention to the study of Persian."[14]

From 1206 A.D. to 1450 A.D.—a period of two and a half centuries—during which Turks were mostly dominant, Muslims had remained isolated forming a separate class by themselves which prevented any fruitful cultural contacts with the Hindus. But the coming of the Lodhis into power in 1451 A.D. opened a new chapter in our cultural history bringing the two people closer in various fields of life. This trend received further impetus with the rise of the short-lived but eventful Suri dynasty.

Let us briefly review the events from the fall of the Lodhi Pathans to the rise of Suri Pathans. Because of the fight between various factions of Lodhis, the dynasty was considerably weakened during the reign of Ibrahim Lodhi. These developments were being closely watched from Kabul by one, Zahiruddin Babur, a Turk of the Barlas clan who, on being ousted from his home city of Samarkand by the Mongol tribe of Uzbeks, had set up his headquarters in the Afghan territory. For over twenty years this shrewd Barlas Turk kept himself busy with preparations for the inevitable clash with the Lodhis whose weak points he was thoroughly acquainted with. He availed himself of the first opportunity when the Governor of Lahore, Daulat Khan Lodhi and Alauddin Khan, a brother of Ibrahim Lodhi, invited him to liberate India from the Lodhi Rule! (One faction of the Lodhis against another).

Once again, Turks under the leadership of Babur overthrew the Afghans in the First battle of Panipat fought in 1526. Babur died in 1530 and was succeeded by his son Humayun who ruled till 1540. But the Afghans,

14. *Persian Literature during the Syed-Lodhi Period, By* Dr. A. Halim, Dacca University (In the Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. III, Part-I).

though defeated at Panipat, never gave up the struggle for power and continued to be in virtual control of a major portion of northern India. They regrouped their forces under Sher Khan who drove out Humayun from India and set up Suri Dynasty. The 15-year rule of the Suris was among the most momentous and epoch-making in India's history. Some historians are of the view that right from the time Bahlul Lodhi established Lodhi dynasty in 1451 down to the fall of the Suris in 1556 when Akbar took over after the second battle of Panipat, for a period of over 100 years Afghans reigned supreme in India. Babur and Humayun's period were ineffective.

It may be pointed out here that all the Afghan dynasties that ruled in this sub-continent either at Delhi or in the provinces were highly efficient, extremely liberal and invariably tolerant. But for their rivalries and mutual jealousies, none could have dislodged them and they would have remained supreme all along.

THE SURI DYNASTY

Now that we have reached Suri period, a discussion of its achievements and impact is necessary since they are often overlooked. We need not dilate on Sher Shah's great work in the field of revenue administration which is mentioned in detail in almost all histories. It is the other aspects that we shall bring out here.

Both Sher Shah (1540-45) and his son and successor Islam Shah (1545-54) were great patrons of art, learning and music. It was under the Suris that local languages gained considerable ascendancy, particularly Hindi and Bengali. The great Hindi poets Malik Mohammed Jaisi and Shah Mohammed Farmali and the noted poet-musician Sur Das flourished during this period. The Indo-Muslim music that we relish and is even today popular among Muslims of the sub-continent saw great developments and progress, while the Suri capital, Gwaliar, became the most important centre of music in India. It might have been noted that up to the time of Partition great artists of classical music were mostly the product of Gwaliar. Sultan Mohammad Sur, Baz Bahadur and Mohammad Adil Shah Suri were among the celebrated musicians of the time. Mian Tansen, one of the greatest musicians that this sub-continent has produced, was a pupil of Adil Shah Suri. Fifteen of the 36 musicians of Akber's court were drawn from Gwaliar. Baz Bahadur (an Afghan), who was the ruler of Malwa, maintained a large number of songstresses at his court whose songs were composed both in Persian and Hindi. The songs which Baz Bahadur and Rupmati composed, pouring their hearts for one another, are a valuable piece of Hindi literature and music and are still popular in India.

"Islam Shah and the Afghan ruler of Bengal, Sulaiman Karrani, took great interest in literary and philosophical discussions. Poets and scholars assembled in their court and debated questions of literature, poetry and philosophy. These assemblies encouraged Akber to hold such meetings in his own court. Afghan period also saw a brilliant development of Bengali literature and language. The great stimulus to Bengali literature under the patronage of Ilyas Shahi Sultans and Sayyid Sultans continued in the period of Afghan rule in eastern India. After the loss of northern India, Afghans adopted Bengal as their home and patronised Bengali intellect. The rise of Srihari Vikramditya and Janakiballava Basanta Rai illustrates this point."[15]

The policy of enlisting Hindu support for the government and administration adopted by Suri and Karrani Afghans was later followed by Akber. The ascendancy of Hemu at the court of Sultan Adil Shah and of Sri Hari in the government of Daud Karrani are instances of this policy. Akber, following the example of Sher Shah Suri, was one of the first to include Rajputs and Brahmins as high-ranking officers in the imperial service. The inclusion of Hindus in high positions in administration was continued under Jehangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb. In fact the number of Hindus in the services increased. Aurangzeb's two trusted generals were Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh.

The Suri dynasty, in short, was the precursor of the great Mughal Empire. It were the Suri Afghans who laid the foundation of, and paved the way for the glory of the Mughals. Suris established a strong monarchy and a centralised rule, introduced 'subah' administration along with the 'mansabdari' system and eliminated the influence of theologians. Their 'hukum namas' were the precursor of 'dastur-i-amal' (manual of instruction) of the Mughals and their special sessions for free religious and philosophical discussions were emulated by Akber the Great. But for the ground prepared and atmosphere created by the Suris, Akber would not have achieved greatness. As already pointed out, effective Mughal rule commenced only with Akber who took over the entire heritage of the Suris after defeating them at the Second Battle of Panipat in 1556. As has been aptly stated by an orientalist: "There was no Mughal Empire before Akber, only the attempt to create one."

Suri period in general and the reign of Islam Shah in particular are among the most important landmarks in the annals of Indo-Pak history. The Afghan interlude of over a century from 1451 to 1556 A.D. which includes both Lodhi and Suri periods is the dividing line between the old

15. *History of the Afghans in India, By* Dr. M.A. Rahim.

Turkish rule of the Ilbari clan and the new Turkish rule of the Barlas clan (Mughals). The Afghans served as a connecting link between the old order and the new, made Muslim rule stronger, wider and deeper and its culture rich and resplendant. Without their work Mughals in general and Akber in particular would not have been a success either in the administrative or in the cultural fields. This heritage included Tansen, Surdas, Baz Bahadur, Todar Mall, who all belonged to the Suri court.

"Both as traders and soldiers they were known to be simple and honest. By and large the Afghans in India did not suffer from the arrogance of the ruling class to which the Turks were prone. Indeed, whenever the Muslim chroniclers refer to them, they are shown as simple and even uncouth, but not arrogant. The seventy-five years of Afghan rule in India is singularly free from religious intolerance, except for a few acts of Sikandar Lodhi. It was during this period that Northern India witnessed a galaxy of socio-religious reformers of whom the most shining gems are Kabir, Nanak, Vallabhacharaya and Chaitanya. Had it not been for the spirit of tolerance pervading the fifteenth century, the task of these masters would have been doubly difficult. It was because of this spirit of tolerance that fine arts flourished and regional languages developed as never before. The Afghans were known for their simple and thrifty ways. The Afghan rulers were against any pomp or show or waste of public money."[16]

AFGHANS LOSE TO MUGHALS

But the Afghans fell victim to their own internal dissensions after the death of Islam Shah. The next ruler, Adil Shah proved incapable of dealing with the country-wide rebellions of Afghan Sardars which encouraged Humayun to return from his 15-year exile in 1555. A year later, on his death, his son Akber was able to inflict crushing defeat on the Afghans in the Second Battle of Panipat (1556) and gradually bring to an end Afghan domination in this sub-continent which they have never been able to regain ever since.

It may, however, be pointed out that even after the Second Battle of Panipat the Afghans did not give in easily to the Mughals, maintaining their supremacy in a large part of India. The Siwalik Hills of the Punjab remained under Sikander Khan Suri; Rukn Khan Lohani, who was an amir of Adil Shah Suri, held Sambal; Haji Khan governed Alwar and Mewar; Adil Shah's son retained his hold from Lucknow and Gwaliar to the borders of Bengal; Baz Bahadur ruled Malwa, and Bahadur Khan Sur, Bengal. Thus,

16. *Afghan Immigration in the Early Middle Ages, By* K.S. Lal.

the territories under the Afghans were twice as extensive as the empire Akber inherited, and their united action could have easily driven him out even after his triumph at Panipat. But the most amazing aspect is that the Afghans, instead of fighting the Mughals began to fight one another. In spite of these dissensions they again defeated Akber's forces near Jaunpur and he would have been forced to flee India as did his father Humayun. But, confident that they had gained final victory, the Afghans turned to plunder which sealed their fate. The Mughal general Khan Zaman took full advantage of the situation and overwhelmed them.

Akber proved too tough and tenacious for he Afghans. In 1576 he conquered Bihar and West Bengal and in 1592 ousted them from Orissa. Still he failed to eliminate their rule completely during his life. Afghans retired into East Bengal, made common cause with the zamindars of Bara Bhuyan and continued to defy the Mughals. It was during the time of Jehangir that their last stronghold in Sylhet was conquered and their hero Osman fell fighting in 1611 A.D.

Akber sent three armies under Zain Khan, Hakim Abdul Fateh and Raja Birbal against Frontier tribes. Yusafzais proved most troublesome, the Imperial army was defeated and Birbal killed.

Next, in 1586 Akber sent Prince Murad and Raja Todar Mall who defeated the Tribals. Raushanias proved most formidable. This movement was started under Bayazid Ansari; then his son Jalaluddin Ansari took over in 1581. Akber appointed Raja Man Singh, Governor of Kabul to crush the Raushanias which was done successfully in 1600 A.D.

It will be noticed that the Mughal-Afghan relations were steeped in blood and bitterness, hatred and antagonism. Baber overthrew the Afghan dynasty of the Lodhis in the first battle of Panipat; the Suri Afghans, in turn, defeated the Mughals and made Humayun flee the country. Again Akber, not only defeated the Suris in the second battle of Panipat eliminating them from northern India, but pursued them all along in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in the east and NWFP in the west and did not rest till he had gained complete sway.

In view of this background it was but natural that the attitude of Mughal rulers towards the Afghans/Pathans should be one of distrust and dislike, caution and suspicion. Similarly, the latter could hardly have any loyalty for the Mughals or reconcile themselves to their rule. Slight change was effected by Jehangir who was favourably inclined towards them but again Afghan-Mughal relations became strained under Shah Jehan.

The Venetian traveller Niccolas Manucci who visited India during the Mughal period writes: "It is a rule in the Mughal Empire not to trust the race of the Pathans. In the whole of Hindustan from Kabul to the confines of Bengal there may be 100 fortresses. To them the king sends faithful governors. They are Rajputs, Sayyids and Mughals. But the Pathans are never allowed to hold any of these for fear that they may plot some treason, as they did to king Humayun."

"During the reign of Shah Jehan the Afghan Governor Khan Jehan rebelled. Originally it was in defence of his honour, but before the end he was actuated by the desire to re-establish Afghan rule in India......After Khan Jehan's rebellion, Shah Jehan did not appoint any Afghan as provincial governor......He also did not entrust any Afghan with an independent army command; they were attached as assistants to Mughal generals."[17] There was an exception in the case of Sher Khan Tanur who helped Shah Jehan in suppressing Khan Jehan's rebellion and also in the conquest of Nizam Shahi kingdom. He was, therefore, allowed to retain the governorship of Gujrat until his death in 1631 A.D.

There was no marked change in Aurangzeb's policy either. But because of the deteriorating political conditions in the later part of his reign he had to depend more on the Afghans. The rise of Shivaji, wars against Deccan Sultans, alienation of Rajputs and rebellion of the Jats made the Afghans more prominent. In spite of all this, because of the lingering suspicion and fear, Aurangzeb refrained from giving them independent command.

During the Mughal period situation on the north-west frontier was also full of turmoil and unrest. Innumerable expeditions were sent to the frontier by every Mughal emperor resulting in expenditure and bloodshed. Raja Bibal who once headed such an expedition during Akber's time was killed in a battle in the Frontier. Yusufzai tribe was always at loggerheads with the Mughals and never reconciled itself to their rule. Aurangzeb in his attempt to placate them antagonised the Khattaks who were till then guarding the Khyber Pass on behalf of the Mughals. Khushal Khan Khattak was bitter against Aurangzeb for having deprived his tribe of the monetary benefits accruing from this monopolistic role. The Afghan tribes on the western frontiers began their traditional policy of defiance of Mughal authority. In 1667 the Yusufzais under their leader Bhagu who had the blessings and support of Mullah Chalak, a religious leader, crossed the river Indus above Attock and spread over Peshawar and Attock districts.

17. *History of the Afghans in India, By* Dr. M.A. Rahim.

Muhammad Amin, the son of Mir Jumla, dispersed them with heavy losses and restored peace which lasted for 5 years.

"In 1672 the Afridis under Akmal Khan and Darya Khan proclaimed war against the Mughals. This was a much more serious rising than that of the Yusufzais. The Mughals suffered heavy losses in men and material. The prisoners were deported to Central Asia and sold as slaves. The revolt against the Mughals was organised by men of experience and aroused considerable fervour amongst the tribes. Muhammad Amin was replaced by Mahabat Khan, but the campaign made halting progress because of lack of cooperation among Mughal generals. Alamgir himself moved to Hasan Abdal to direct the operations and by June 1674 the Imperial army finally emerged victorious. Amir Khan (governor of Afghanistan from 1678 to 1698), assisted by his wife Shah Bibi, a "woman of great energy, tact and wise counsel" was mainly responsible for restoring Mughal prestige on the north-west frontier and maintaining peace in that disturbed area. The famous poet Khushal Khan Khattak kept up an unequal fight against the Mughals. He was later betrayed by his own son and died in 1680. The Afghan trouble coincided with the Mughal involvement in the Rajput wars and the Maratha rising and, therefore, Mughals had not been able to prosecute the campaign with the fullest vigour."[18]

AHMED SHAH ABDALI

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 there was a power vacuum in the sub-continent which attracted the attention of the Iranian warlord Nadir Shah. He attacked Delhi in 1739, collected immense wealth including Kohi Noor from the treasury of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah Rangeela and departed for Iran laying claim to most of the areas now constituting Pakistan. On Nadir Shah's death in 1747 Iran also fell victim to chaos and anarchy as the decrepit Safavid dynasty had already been eliminated by him.

It was for the first time in history that an opportunity presented itself to the Afghans to assert their independence since both to their east (India) and west (Iran) mighty Empires—Mughals and Safavis—had collapsed leaving a trail of chaos and confusion. The Afghans now could close their ranks, muster their strength and establish their rule either in Iran or India. But there was another alternative: instead of undertaking such risky adventures which might prove short-lived as had happened in the case of their rule in Iran under the leadership of Ghilzais, they could set up an independent

18. *A Short History of Pakistan*, Vol. III, By Sh. A. Rashid.

kingdom in their own homeland which they had never been able to do previously because of the control of the two big powers of Iran and India on their southern and northern territories respectively. The second alternative appealed to the Afghans/Pathans and for the first time they set up an independent state in the territories they inhabited, and called it Afghanistan *i.e.,* the state of Afghans/Pathans. This was done in 1747 A.D. by an Afghan general, Ahmed Khan known to history as Ahmed Shah Abdali or Durrani. Stated briefly the background of Durrani's rise to power is as follows:

Nadir Shah, who was a Sunni Turk of the Afshar tribe, growing suspicious of the loyalty of Iranian Shias in his last days, had started recruiting Afghans in his army, particularly for his bodyguard. Ahmed Khan, who was head of the bodyguard at the time of Nadir's murder, is said to have appropriated most of the wealth of his master including the famous 'Kohi Noor', left Iran and came over to Qandahar accompanied by the bulk of Afghan soldiers.

It was at this juncture that after prolonged deliberations and discussions among various Afghan tribes, a decision was taken to set up an independent state with Ahmed Khan of the Abdali tribe as the first king. Since Ahmed Khan (henceforth Ahmed Shah Abdali) considered himself the successor of Nadir Shah in this part of the world, he also claimed and controlled a major portion of the Iranian province of Khurasan, the Central Asian Turkish territories south of River Oxus and most of what is today Pakistan. Though the basic purpose of setting up the state of Afghanistan was to embrace within its fold all the Afghan/Pathan tribes, yet the country as it came to be constituted comprised of large areas inhabited by non-Afghans: Iranians in Khurasan, Turks south of Oxus, and Punjabis, Baluchis and Sindhis east and south-west of Indus.

"Ahmed Shah Abdali in 1747 proclaimed himself Shah of all the essential states south of Khurasan *viz.,* Kabul, Kandhar, Herat, Sind, Multan, Kashmir, Daman, Peshawar Valley, Hazara, and the four cis-Indus districts that Nadir had annexed. Ahmed Shah desired at least to make Sutlej his frontier. When he died his kingdom spread from Meshed in Khurasan to Lahore and Sutlej."[19]

The 225-year old history of Afghanistan (1747 onwards) is full of crucial events of international importance and of direct relevance to our own territories. But we shall narrate them here very briefly and mention only those aspects which affect Pak-Afghan relations.

19. *Afghanistan from Darius to Amanullah, By* Lt. Gen. Sir George McMunn.

PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS

The details of Ahmed Shah Abdali's various expeditions to India to quell the nefarious activities of the Sikhs and Marathas are well-known and need not be recapitulated here. He had created such a deep impact of his prowess both at home and abroad that after his death in 1777, his son Taimur Shah experienced little difficulty in ruling the vast and varied territories left by his father. But, after Taimur Shah's 20-year rule, the period of tranquility and unchallenged Afghan sovereignty came to an end. New forces were emerging both in Iran and India, while at home dissensions between Taimur Shah's sons sapped Afghan energies. Struggle for power between the three brothers Shah Zaman, Shah Shuja and Shah Mahmud led to gradual decline of Afghan authority culminating in the loss of all territories in the sub-continent east of Khyber to the Sikhs.

Because of the misrule and atrocities of Shah Mahmud, he was ousted and Ahmed Shah Abdali's line of Popalzais supplanted in 1818 by Dost Mohammed Khan of the Barakzai clan which was also a branch of the Abdalis. By the time Dost Mohammed could gain full control of Afghanistan by overcoming tribal opposition, a very unhappy development had taken place in the eastern part of his dominions *i.e.,* Pakistan. A young Sikh sardar, Ranjit Singh, who had been temporarily appointed Governor of Lahore by Shah Zaman during one of his Indian expeditions, began to spread his tentacles, conquering one district after another. By 1820 A.D. he had subjugated most of West Punjab and was poised to advance towards East Punjab. During this period the British under the command of Lord Lake had defeated the Marathas and were in control of Delhi (1803 A.D.) They felt that if Ranjit Singh conquered East Punjab, the security of Delhi and the rest of northern India which was now under their hegemony, would be jeopardised. The Sikh sardars of East Punjab, also feeling insecure against Ranjit Singh's expansion plan turned towards the British for help. At this important juncture the British took a firm and bold decision. The treaty of 1809 A.D. between Ranjit Singh and the British is said to have moved the British frontier from the Jamna to the Sutlej.[20] They also sternly warned Ranjit Singh that any advance and annexation of territories east of Sutlej would be construed as an attack on the British.

This warning served the purpose. Ranjit Singh did not consider himself strong enough to defy the British and turned his energies towards the West. This was exactly what the British wanted. Since conditions in Afghanistan were favourable and propitious for Ranjit Singh, Sikh forces crossed

20. *The Cambridge History of India Vol. V*

the Indus at Attock. Encountering little resistance in view of Dost Mohammad Khan's entanglement and preoccupation with internal dissensions, Sikhs conquered Peshawar in 1818 but relinquished its control to the Barakzai Governor Yar Mohammad Khan who was a brother of Dost Mohammad Khan. In 1834 when they took full control of Peshawar and advanced beyond Khyber they were defeated by Dost's son, Akber. Here the Sikhs halted to recoup themselves and to deliberate over the future course of action. They felt that any advance beyond Khyber was pregnant with dangerous possibilities and that they should try to consolidate their hold over whatever Afghan territories they had gained between Indus and Khyber (*i.e.*, mostly the present NWFP). Sikh forces built the Jamrud Fort at the entrance of the Khyber. "The Dogra Chief Dhian Singh, elder brother of Gulab Singh who subsequently became ruler of Kashmir, worked with his own hands on the construction of Jamrud Fort which guards the Khyber.[21]

BACKGROUND OF DURAND LINE

Making Khyber a stronghold, the Sikhs set up military posts to the north and south of this point, drawing a sort of boundary line between the Afghan/Pathan territories conquered by them and Dost Mohammad's dominions. This development dealt a severe blow to Afghan prestige. They found that they had not only lost the non-Afghan territories of West Punjab over which they claimed sovereignty since the days of Ahmed Ahah Abdali, but they had also lost the Afghan lands between Indus and Khyber and the most important city of Peshawar which was the summer capital of their rulers.

This boundary along Khyber, which the Sikh forces, taking advantage of Afghan dissensions had drawn up in 1834 A.D. was continued by their British successors as the border between India and Afghanistan. Later in 1893 they consolidated it, obtained the consent of the then Afghan ruler Amir Abdur Rehman, naming it Durand Line after Sir Mortimer Durand who worked on its demarcation. It would not, therefore, be inappropriate to call Durand Line as Ranjit Singh Line since Sikh forces had actually drawn it up. Never before in history was there any border along this line. It cut across the territories of several tribes and divided Afghans into two.

PAKHTUNISTAN ISSUE

From the time Sikh forces established themselves at Khyber in the time of Dost Mohammad Khan in 1834 through King Amanullah to the present

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21. *The Pathans, By* Sir Olaf Caroe.

ruler Zahir Shah, Afghan governments have never ceased to press their claims over the territories now constituting part of the North-West Frontier and Baluchistan Provinces of Pakistan. The issue has been raised time and again in one form or other—today it is in the garb of Pakhtunistan. It was because of this claim to NWFP that Afghanistan did not vote for Pakistan's admission to the UNO in 1947.

It can be safely said that all the three Afghan wars fought between Afghanistan and the British were directly or indirectly the result of this claim over the territories between Khyber and Indus. On his failure to get this territory back from the Sikhs through British intervention, Dost Mohammad turned towards the Russians. This led to British attack on Afghanistan in 1838-39 resulting in the First Afghan War. "In the middle of November 1838 Alexander Burnes was disturbed to learn that Vickvoich, the Russian agent, had arrived in Kabul bearing a letter from the Czar, in reply to one written by Dost Mohammad imploring Russian help against the Sikhs."[22] Burnes drew Lord Auckland's attention to the unhappy effect on the Afghans of Ranjit Singh's aggressive policy and of British indifference which had caused Dost Mohammad in despair to seek help from Russia. He further wrote to Lord Auckland that the Maharaja's (Ranjit Singh) attack on Peshawar drove the Afghans "to seek for alliances which are injurious to British interests......In a settlement of the Peshawar affair we have an immediate remedy against further intrigue. There would never be peace between them (Sikhs and Afghans) unless the Sikhs were prepared to restore Peshawar to the Durrani kingdom."

"It is possible that if the Sikhs had not crossed the Indus we might have tried to found a stable frontier on the eastern bank of that great river when we took over control of their territory. But if the Sikhs had not crossed the Indus, there would have been no Afghan War and the whole course of frontier history would have been different. We followed them across the Indus and took over the tran-Indus territories up to the foothills of tribal territory."[23]

"The Sikhs made no attempt to come to terms with the Pathans of the Hills, but established their frontier along the edge of the tribal lands where the cultivated fields of the plain give place to stony barren slopes running up to the rugged brown hills beyond. It was this frontier that the British took over from the Sikhs in 1849.

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22. *Afghanistan, By* W.K. Frazer Tytler.

23. Ibid.

"The Durand Line, though perhaps in the circumstances the best line possible has few advantages and many defects. It is illogical from the point of view of ethnography, of strategy and of geography. It cuts across one of the main basins of the Indus watershed; it splits a nation in two and it even divides tribes."[24]

Though Amir Abdur Rahman signed the Durrand Line document, he and the subsequent rulers of Afghanistan did not consider themselves debarred in any way from sending emissaries across the line to maintain Afghan influence throughout the tribal areas, or from inviting jirgas of tribesmen from the Indian side of the line to come to Kabul, where they were treated as state guests. (In this context one can easily understand Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's long residence in Afghanistan probably as state guest).

When the British took over the territories up to Khyber from the Sikhs in 1849, after the Third Sikh War, they gave serious thought to the proposal for withdrawing to Indus on several occasions. First suggested by the Political Agent Sir James Outram in 1854, the Indus Frontier line was also advocated by several other officers on the spot including John Lawrence, later Governor General of India from 1863-68. "In the stress of the Mutiny John Lawrence went so far as to advocate the restoration of the tran-Indus territories to the Afghans." But the proposals were negatived by Lord Canning in his telegram 'Hold on Peshawar to the last.' In 1858 Lawrence again supported Lumsden's views for withdrawal to Indus. But the "Forward" school of British administrators and soldiers not only prevented any such withdrawal to Indus surrendering all territory from Peshawar to Quetta but on the contrary advocated an advance to Qandahar and Herat. Th Second Afghan War of 1879, however, finally settled this controversy between the advocates of "Forward" policy and those supporting withdrawal to Indus. The British decided to withdraw from Qandahar but to retain Peshawar, Quetta, Pishin and Sibi regions. Thus, the Second Afghan War also could not get the Pakhtun area back to the Afghans.

In the Third British-Afghan War of 1919 King Amanullah was not only prompted by a desire to break British control over Afghan foreign policy and interference in internal affairs but also to gain the territories lost to the Sikhs (*i.e.*, the NWFP). Again the history of the First Afghan War was repeated *i.e.*, Amanullah had begun to lean towards Communist Russia to gain his objective of getting back the lost territories. But before things could take a dangerous turn for British India, Amanullah was overthrown

24. Ibid.

by the machinations of the British. "The Third Afghan War was an attempt at re-establishing Afghanistan's former frontiers with India, of redressing what the Afghans felt was a great injustice to them."[25]

PAKHTUNISTAN VIS-A-VIS AFGHAN RULERS

At this stage a few points need be mentioned here which are of great relevance to the Pak-Afghan relations. On Amanullah's exit, after a short spell of chaos in Afghanistan under the notorious Bache-Saqqa in 1929-30, another scion of the Barakzai clan, Nader Khan (King Zahir Shah's father), gained control of the Kabul throne. In this venture Nader Khan was supported by the tribals of the NWFP. In fact it would not be far from true to say that it was the support of the tribes from the Frontier Province that enabled Nader Khan to gain Kabul throne. This makes the relations between the Pakistani Pathans and the present regime of Afghanistan very intimate and of special nature.

Another point of interest is that Nadir Khan's great-grand-father Sultan Mohammad Khan and his brother Yar Mohammad Khan (brothers of Dost Mohammad Khan) were for a long time the Governors of Peshawar so much so that the family came to be called the Sardars of Peshawar. Both Yar Mohammad Khan and Sultan Mohammad Khan were ousted from the governorship by the Sikhs. Nadir Khan's son King Zahir Shah (the present ruler) never ceases taking interest in the affairs this side of the Durand Line. 'No Afghan had ever looked upon this area east of Durand Line as forming part of India, areas peopled with men of his own blood and race and religion.[26]

It may also be of interest to mention here that during the Second World War, Hitler had offered the Afghan Government to get them back from the British not only the NWFP but even the port of Karachi to enable Afghanistan to secure an opening to the sea provided they fomented trouble among the Frontier tribes against the British. But the Afghan Government under King Zahir Shah did not take any risk this time.

Thus it will be noticed that Dost Mohammad Khan had turned to the Czar of Russia to get back the Frontier from the Sikhs in the thirties of last century leading to the First Afghan War and his subsequent replacement (for a short period 1839-42) by Shah Shuja. The Second Afghan War of 1878 led to the exit of Amir Sher Ali. Again, King Amanullah Khan tried to seek Communist Russia's help in the early twenties of this century to get

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25. *Afghanistan* 1900-1923: *A Diplomatic History, By* Ludwig Ademac.
26. *Afghanistan, By* W.K. Frazer Tytler.

the same areas from the British, leading to the Third Afghan War and his ouster a decade later. Then there was Nazi Germany's offer during the Second World War as mentioned above. After the birth of Pakistan in 1947 King Zahir Shah manoeuvred Indian and Russian support for Pakhtunistan to gain the same territories back from Pakistan. It is a link in the chain of historical events.

Not only this. The two Sikh Wars were also a direct consequence of this issue. Sir Olaf Caroe points out that "the desire to possess Peshawar and surrounding areas was the real cause of the First Afghan War and was even of considerable significance as affecting the courses and results of the two wars between the British and Ranjit Singh's successors." This point needs elaboration here as the sale of Kashmir to Gulab Singh by the British is also connected with the Peshawar affair. Since the British had been playing the Sikhs against the Afghans to weaken both, as a part of this game they began to give out feelers after Ranjit Singh's death that the Sikhs would have to return Peshawar and the areas up to the Indus to the Afghan Government. The Sikhs, feeling that the British, in collaboration with the Afghans were trying to encircle them, resorted to war—the Second Sikh War of 1846—in which they were defeated. Taking advantage of Sikh defeat the British sold Kashmir to Gulab Singh, killing two birds with one stone *i.e.*, took away Kashmir from the control of both the Sikhs and its Muslim Governor. If the British had not resorted to this wile against the Muslim Governor he could have continued and become ruler after the elimination of Sikhs with the result that there would have been no Dogra raj and no Kashmir problem. Any way, the point to be stressed here is that Kashmir, Afghan and Pakistan problems are all inter-related and have always influenced each other.

It may also be pointed out that international interest in this area and its problems is not new. China, Russia and Britain (now U.S.A.) were as deeply involved in its politics as they are today. William Moorcraft, Supdt. of East India Company's Stud who visited Leh in 1821 wrote: "An agent of the Russian Government, Agha Mehdi was on his way for the second time within a few years to visit both the rulers of Laddakh and Ranjit, bearing letters of goodwill, a considerable sum of money and some commercial goods. He also had instructions to invite their representatives to Russia."[27] Moorcraft felt that Laddakh would be an excellent base for operations against China if the need ever arose and any Russian attempt to invade India from the north could be forestalled from it."

27. *British India's Northern Frontier* 1865-95, *By* G.J. Alder.

SOLUTION OF PAKHTUNISTAN PROBLEM

The reader must have realized by now how delicate and ticklish is the nature of relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Pakhtunistan issue is so close to the hearts of the Kabul rulers that they would not easily give it up—it has deep roots in history as the above study has revealed. But there is a ray of hope. What had embittered the feelings of the Afghans was the taking away of Afghan/Pathan inhabited territories by the Sikhs who perpetrated brutal atrocities on their Muslim subjects and made their existence miserable. Similarly, their successors the British, were no less antagonistic towards the Pathans and waged constant war against them causing great hardships and miseries to the inhabitants of the entire area. The Pathans of what is called the NWFP and the Tribal Areas of Pakistan had to make tremendous sacrifices for about 130 years both under the Sikhs and the British (1818-1947). It was this misfortune of the Pathans of this belt that was partly responsible for the attempts made by Kabul rulers to get it back.

But from August 14, 1947 things have taken a different turn and the entire perspective has changed. The Pathans of neither the settled regions nor the Tribal Areas are subjected to any discrimination nor any expeditions sent against them or armies deployed to suppress them. They are citizens of a free state where they enjoy the same rights as people of other provinces. Pathans hold positions of highest responsibility in the civil as well as military services of Pakistan. They are today proud citizens of a Muslim state and have so much endeared themselves to the other people of the country that one cannot think of Pakistan without the Pathan element forming part of it. They have produced great leaders of national stature with large followings in the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan.

Since the day Mahmud Ghaznavi entered this sub-continent, Afghans/ Pathans have been a constant factor in the political, social and military life of Muslims of this sub-continent. In terms of time from 1,000 A.D. onwards for about a thousand years, and in terms of space from Chitral to Chittagong and from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, the ubiquitous Pathan has always been there. There is no city or town in this sub-continent with Muslim population without Pathan 'mohallas' and there is hardly a Muslim family which has not entered into matrimonial relations with Pathans. In fact Pathan blood is mostly responsible for the better physique and features of Muslims compared with Hindus.

As far as Afghanistan is concerned we can very well understand the feelings of Amir Dost Mohammad, Sher Ali, Abdur Rehman Khan and King Amanullah towards fellow Afghans east of Durand Line living under non-Muslim rule during their time. But today they are not living under non-Muslim rule. Similarly, today the problem is not of "divided Afghans" as Kabul was inclined to look at it in the past, but on the contrary of Afghans playing a leading role in two Muslim states—in Afghanistan as well as Pakistan. There was a time when Durand Line divided Afghans to weaken them but today the Line makes them partners-in-power in two states. No decision on any issue can be taken by the Government of Pakistan without the consent of the Afghans/Pathans living in Pakistan. Further, since they are spread over NWFP and the Quetta Division of Baluchistan, they will wield power in the governments of both the provinces in any constitutional set-up. Would the Afghan Government and the supporters of 'Pakhtunistan' movement like to deprive the Pathans of this important role in Pakistan? Wise counsel is: they should not. Moreover, Pathans are the connecting link between the two brotherly Muslim states whose geographical and economic necessities may, in the near future, bring about their fusion.

A few words about the fusion of the two brotherly countries. The idea of Afghanistan forming an autonomous province of Pakistan is not an unfamiliar or impracticable one. The letter 'alif' in the Urdu word Pakistan stands for Afghans. Both Jamaluddin Afghani and Allama Iqbal cherished the concept of North-West India and Afghanistan together forming a single state. Moreover, Pakistan, as at present constituted, is poor in minerals but rich in food and fibres while Afghanistan has tremendous untapped mineral and manpower resources. A fusion of the two would be pregnant with immense possibilities not only for the people of the two countries but for the entire Muslim world. There is nothing wrong or repugnant in this idea. The combined strength of the Afghans from the Indus to the Oxus and from Dir to Herat would ensure their internal autonomy as well as a strong voice and a powerful say in the Central Government of Pakistan. World trends are towards greater integration and larger pooling of resources. Let the Afghans give the idea a calm and cool consideration in the larger interests of Muslim unity.

Here I would like to quote a couple of paragraphs relevant to this aspect from W.K. Frazer Tytler's book "Afghanistan: A Study of Political Developments in Central and Southern Asia." He writes: "It is indeed a strange feature of this complicated situation that there exists, like a cancer

in the body politic of northern India, this collection of 'independent' tribes, well armed, intractable and formidable, who may at any time disturb the relations and disrupt the economy of either of the states in whose midst they dwell. It is an anachronism and a danger to the stability of northern India and the peace of Central Asia. The remedy is the fusion of the two states of Afghanistan and Pakistan in some way or other. It may be argued that, given the differences in mental and political outlook of the two states, such fusion is impossible. This may be so; I am in no position to argue the matter. But history suggests that fusion will take place, if not peacefully, then by force." This is the view of an eminent western author.

He further comments: "These two states, closely integrated, prosperous and peaceful, would have a notable part to play as forming a powerful eastern bastion to the long line of Islamic states which stretch between the Bosphorus and the Pamirs. But if they are not so integrated, if they are divided and torn by political and economic differences, by national antagonism and by the absurdities of the Durand Line, then they will offer that condition favourable to revolution which gives communism its opportunity."

The above study brings out two alternatives for the solution of Pak-Afghan problems. Either the Durand Line remains, enabling the people of Afghan race to play a leading role in both Afghanistan and Pakistan which should lead to the shelving of 'Pakhtunistan' issue forever and the establishment of amicable relations between the two, or, since one of the objectives of setting up an independent state (Pakistan) in the north-western parts of India was to include in its fold Muslims living up to the Hindu Kush or the Oxus which have been the traditional boundaries of all the Muslim and pre-Muslim dynasties of this area, a fusion of Pakistan and Afghanistan is highly desirable. Such a development would be natural, normal and extremely welcome. It will benefit both, strengthen both, and open up new vistas for both. As the present boundaries of Afghanistan skip the Hindu Kush and lie along the Oxus, the possibilities are considerably broader and potentialities exceedingly brighter.

The whole issue needs to be studied in historical, cultural and religious perspective and not in terms of modern, recently nurtured ideas of parochial western nationalism. We have to break the linguistic and racial barriers sometime and somewhere and demonstrate to the world that Muslim nationalism does not brook petty ideas and does not believe in tenuous bonds. The best place to demonstrate the superiority of Islamic principles

of nationalism is between the Sutlej and the Oxus and the best time is the 20th century.

Much background material is available on this subject and more can be written but because of its highly sensitive nature let us close this chapter with the hope and prayer that after the forced separation of Muslim Bengal, Afghans will realise the implications of a weak Pakistan and strong India *vis-a-vis* their own security. If Pakistan disappears, Afghanistan cannot remain independent for long. Moreover, common rule over Pakistan and Afghanistan is not a new or novel idea in the context of history. The Sakas, Parthians, Graeco-Bactrians, Kushans, Ghaznavids and Abdalis were rulers of both the countries with their capital either at Peshawar, Taxila, Ghazna, or Qandahar.

AFGHANISTAN : BIRTH-PLACE OF MUSLIM DYNASTIES

Then, the territories now forming Afghanistan have great political significance for the Muslims of this sub-continent. From its bosom have originated movements and monarchs who established Muslim rule in Pakistan, and later in the entire sub-continent. Mahmud Ghaznavi, though a Turk, was born and brought up at Ghazna in Afghanistan and it was with the help of Afghan soldiers that he conquered several cities in northern India and introduced Muslim rule in the areas now known as Pakistan (11th century A.D.).

Mohammad Ghori, though of Turko-Persian origin, was born and nurtured at Ghor in Afghanistan. It was again with the help of Afghan soldiers that he extended Muslim sway over the whole of northern India (12th and 13th century A.D.).

It was again an Afghan, Ikhtiaruddin Bakhtiar Khilji, who conquered Bengal and laid the foundation of Muslim rule in that province. (End of 12th century A.D.).

Then, once again, it was Alauddin Khilji, an Afghan, that extended Muslim rule for the first time to southern India up to Cape Comorin (end of 13th and early 14th century A.D.).

Zahiruddin Baber, though a Barlas Turk, conquered parts of Afghanistan and stayed at Kabul for no less a period than twenty years, making it a base for the conquest of the sub-continent where he finally established Mughal rule.

It were the Afghan dynasties of Lodhis and Suris that strengthened the base of Muslim rule in India by introducing land reforms, by bringing

the rulers (Muslims) and the ruled (Hindus) closer to each other and by encouraging cultural and literary activities.

It will be noticed that almost all the Muslim dynasties that ruled over this sub-continent sprang up from the territories now constituting the state of Afghanistan—Ghaznavids, Ghorids, Khiljis, Lodhis, Suris and Mughals, not to speak of the various Afghan dynasties that ruled over the provinces.

And finally when the Mughals were facing extinction, being strangulated to death by the Marathas and the Sikhs, it was again an Afghan, Ahmed Shah Abdali, who came to their rescue (middle of 18th century) and allowed them a brief respite. But since the Mughals were a spent force and unable to rise again, the support and succour provided by Abdali proved of no avail.

However, Abdali being a shrewd and sensible leader, aware of the huge anti-Muslim forces raising their head, and conscious of the limitations of his own power, established his hold, as a first step, in the north-western corner naming it Afghanistan (1747 A.D.). Pakistan is merely an extension of Abdali's kingdom—in fact Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Kashmir formed part of it during the reigns of Abdali, his son Taimur Shah and during short period of the latter's sons Shah Zaman and Shah Shuja. In view of this historical background, Pakistan and Afghanistan cannot remain separate from each other for long especially when the same forces that Abdali had faced and crushed in the 18th century (Sikhs and Marathas) are again, in a different garb, posing a threat to the independence of this entire region.

Since Afghans/Pathans have made glorious contribution to the development of the administration, education and culture of this sub-continent, instead of remaining isolated with closed minds within the boundaries of Afghanistan, they can come out and again play a leading and constructive role in the whole of Pakistan extending their area of activity up to the Sea of Arabia. They have been known throughout history for their valour, broad-mindedness and tolerance. Instead of thinking on racial lines let them demonstrate these fine qualities once again for the benefit of their co-religionists.

BALUCHISTAN

The huge land mass of Baluchistan rising steadily from the coastal plains of the sea of Arabia to the eerie heights of Quetta, and then descending in an undulating manner up to the fringe of the North-West Frontier Province, covers a little over 125,000 sq. miles constituting almost 40% of the total area of Pakistan. Another 45,000 sq. miles of Baluchistan territory lie in the neighbouring state of Iran and a smaller region in southern Afghanistan. This burnished realm of mountains and plains carries within its bosom rich mineral resources, eagerly awaiting human attention. All the teams of foreign experts who have conducted surveys in the province during the last two decades have unanimously expressed the view that it contains extensive deposits of most valuable ores of the best quality. This treasure trough of Pakistan is equally rich in historical remains and bears traces of earliest human civilization which again, stand unexplored, unearthed, simmering in the heat of a broiling sun or freezing under the biting cold of heavy snowfalls and lashing snowstorms.

According to historians this high and dry region was once a thickly populated country watered by a large number of perennial rivers. Its original name was Gedrosia. Later it came to be known as Maka which, in the course of time, began to be called Makaran. Some consider this name a corruption of the Persian word 'mahi-khuran' (fish eaters). According to J.J. Modi it is a corruption of Mah Keran. Abu Ubaidullah Yakut bin Abdulla says in "Mujmaul Buldan" that it is plural of 'makr' (مکر) meaning deceit. Major Sykes holds the view that 'ran' is from Sanskrit 'irinya' which means waste or swamp; Maka ran is 'waste of Maka'. In the old Persian inscriptions there are references to the country and the people of Maka. In the Behistun inscription of Darius I (522–488 B.C.) Maka is mentioned among the countries under his sway and also that Maka is a branch of the Saka tribe. According to some authors, Rustam, the great hero of Firdausi's epic, Shah-Nama, was born at Mastung in Maka.

This entire region called Makran, was part of Sind and inhabited by people of the same stock as were living in Sind and Punjab *i.e.*, mostly Rajputs and Jats. The old fort of Kalat is said to have been built by the Sind ruler Raja Chach. The Chach Nama gives a description of Rai Chach en route to Kirman to determine the western boundaries of his dominions in 635-36 A.D. When the Arabs entered Makran in the middle of the 7th century A.D. they had to settle scores with Jats who were very unruly, pugnacious and bellicose. Ibn-e-Muʿaraq sent by Caliph Osman to explore eastern extremes of Iran wrote about Makran:

ماء ها و شل و ثمرها و قل ولصها بطل
ان قل الجبيش فيها ضاعو ان كثرو اجاعوا

(The water is brackish, fruits unsavoury, if the army is small it would be destroyed, and if large would die of starvation). According to Tibri this report was given to Hazrat Omar but according to Balhaduri to Hazrat Osman.

Tibri's version is: During Caliph Omar's reign Hakam ibn Omar Al-Taghlabi conquered Makran by defeating its ruler in 644 A.D. (23 hijri). Hazrat Omar enquired from Sahar Abdi, the messenger of the news of victory, about particulars. He replied:

It is a land where the plains are stony, and the water is scanty;
Where fruits are unsavoury and the enemy noted for their bravery;
Where good is small and evil is all in all;
And where showers of plenty scarcely fall.

Caplih Omar said: you need not have been particular about rhyming when recounting events.

"I have described facts", Sahar said.

After Muslim rule was established in Makran (*i.e.*, present day Baluchistan) Arabs were usually reluctant to come here. The following Arabic poem of Aasha Hamdani illustrates this attitude:

وانت تسيرالى مكران ؟ فقد شحط الورود المصدر
ولم تك حاجتى مكران؟ ولا الغزو فيها ولا المتجر
وحد ثت غنها ولم آتها منها ذلت عن ذكرها اوخر
بان الكثيربها جائع و ان القليل بهالعبود

(Will you go to the distant Makran? What will you get there? There is neither pleasure in war nor in business. I had heard about the place but never visited it and always shunned to go there. For, majority of people are hungry and poverty stricken and a small number of them very dangerous).

During the governorship of Umran Barmak in Sind when the Jats of Baluchistan revolted, he came to Kalat with a big force, quelled the rising and went back.[1] Later, Makran (*i.e.*, Baluchistan) was successively conquered by the Irani dynasties of Saffarids, Samanids and Buwahids, and then by the Turkish dynasties of Ghaznazvids, Seljuqs, and Ghorids. For six hundred

1. *Tareekh-e-Sind, By* Abu Zafar Nadvi.

years from the middle of the 7th century A.D. when Arabs conquered it till the middle of the 13th century A.D. the population complexion remained constant with Jats constituting the overwhelming lower starta and the Arabs and Turanis forming a thin upper layer. Baluchis began to immigrate and settle here from the middle of the 12th century A.D. and it was only during the Mughal period (16th century) that this region began to be called Baluchistan. According to another version it was Nader Shah who named this region Baluchistan in early 18th century A.D. But Ahmad Yar Khan, the former Khan of Kalat in his book "*Qaum-e-Baluch*" says that it was the Kalat ruler Mir Naseer Khan the great (1750-95 A.D.) that named the country Baluchistan.

Today the Province of Baluchistan is inhabited by four main groups of people : Brohis, Baluchis, Pathans and Jats. The term Baluchi is loosly employed to include all the residents of the Province. Of the total population of about 24 lacs (according to 1972 census) 30% i.e., over 7 lacs are Afghans/Pathans forming an overwhelming majority in the Quetta Division. The Lasbela and Kachchi districts are inhabited mostly by Jats with population of roughly 4 lacs while Panjabis, Swati and Gilgiti labour and Muhajirs are about one lac taking the total of non Baluchis to 12 lacs. The remaining 12 lacs of the province's population are divided between Brohi and Baluchi tribes, the former being in a majority. Since we have already spoken of the Pathans and Jats elsewhere, we shall discuss only the Brohis and Baluchis here. First, we shall take up their origin and history.

ORIGIN OF NAME

The name, origin and history of Brohis and Baluchis are as much shrouded in mystery and as controversial as those of the Afghans/Pathans. We shall give a few versions here.

As regards the words Brohi and Baluchi there are various views about their meaning and derivation. According to some, Brohi is derived from the word 'Burz-Kohi' *i.e.*, of Al-burz mountains. But Mason thinks that Brohi may be a corruption of 'Ba-rohi' meaning: of mountains. (Roh is koh of Persian from which are derived Rohilla, Rohilkhund etc.). While another theory is that Brohi is an eponym from Braho which is common contraction for Ibrahim. The protagonists of this theory trace the origin of Brohis to Hazrat Ibrahim. Herzfeld believes that it is derived from the Median term 'brze Vaciya' (old Persian brda) from 'brza vak', a loud cry in contrast to 'nameravak' which means quiet, polite way of talking. Istakhari points out that a nomadic pagan people called البدھ (al-Badha) lived in the neighbourhood of Kach-Gandava. Barthold thinks they are البرھ

(al-Barha), Brohi. In view of their peculiar language, some of the western scholars feel that Brohis are remnants of Dravidian races once inhabiting this area. But this theory has not met with general acceptance.

Regarding the word Baluch, some say that it merely means nomad or wanderer while others hold that it is an old Persian word for cocks' comb or cock's crest. Firdausi describes them as weaving such crests. Since there is evidence that in the early middle ages Baluchis wore helmets decorated with a cock's comb it is possible that their ethnic name descends from the totem of the cock. Another version: The word Baluch is a combination of the words 'bach', a son and 'luch' a slave girl *i.e.,* son of a slave girl. According to Rawlinson it is derived from Behus who is identified with Nimrod of scripture, the son of Cush. Still another version is that the word Baluch is a compound of Sanskrit words 'bal' and 'ocha' which means most powerful. H.W. Bellew identifies the name with 'Balliacha', a clan of Chauhan Rajputs.[2] Persians write the word as Bilush; and Kush wa Bilush is a term employed in that country to indicate certain nomadic tribes. However, some of the Persians consider Baluch a derivation from 'bud-loag' (بد لوگ) bad people, lawless folk.

Similarly there are various versions of the place of origin and process of migration of Baluchis/Brohis. We shall narrate a few of them here.

MIGRATION: VARIOUS VERSIONS

According to one version:[3]

An Irani tribe living in the northern mountainous region of Iran was persecuted and driven out by the Sassanian King Nausherwan in 531 A.D. (before the birth of Prophet Mohammad). Since it lived in mountains it was called 'burz kohi', *i.e.,* high-lander, which word later came to be pronounced as Brohi. Migrating from place to place in Iran for centuries they finally came and settled in areas called Makran. Hundred and fifty years later in 682 A.D. another tribe called Baluchis migrated here from Aleppo (Halb) in Syria. Since this tribe had supported Hazrat Imam Hussain, it was driven out from Syria immediately after his martyrdom which occurred in 681 A.D. A popular verse of the Baluchis is:

"We are the servants of Hazrat Ali,
The true Imam of the Faith,
From Aleppo we came
On account of the struggle with Yazid."

2. *History of Baluch Race and Baluchistan, By* Mohammad Sardar Khan Baluch.
3. *Tareekh-e-Baluchistan, By* Mir Gul Khan Naseer (a Minister in the Ataullah Mengal Cabinet).

Another poem states:

By stages we march. From Karbala and the cities of Sistan.
The Hots[4] settle in Makran. The Khosas in Kach.
Dividing out water and dry land
In Nali the Nohs.[5] The Jatois (and others) in Sibi and Dadar.
The Rinds settle in Sarawan. The Lashari in Gandava.
This is our foot-print and track. This is the Baluch record.

According to a tradition 44 Baluchi tribes migrated from Halb to Iran under the leadership of Sardar Jalal Khan who had four sons named Rind, Lashar, Hot, Korai and a daughter Mai Jato. Most of the Baluchi tribes are supposed to be descended from these four sons and the daughter of Jalal Khan. Baluchi tribes lived for a long time in areas spreading from Bunder Abbas to Makran, Sistan, Chagi and along the Afghan-Iran frontier up to Herat. They were called Narohi *i.e.,* low-landers (as against Barohi *i.e.,* high-landers). As a result of the Ghaznavid attacks (980-1030 A.D.) followed by Saljuq (1050 A.D.) then Ghorid (1150-1206) and finally the ferocious Mongol attacks of 1221-1304 A.D. these tribes began to migrate south eastward occupying a vast tract of land which was later named after them as Baluchistan.

Thus, it must have been noticed that according to Mir Gul Khan Nasir's version, Brohis are of north Iranian origin and came first, while Baluchis are of Arab origin and came later.

Sylvia Matheson[6] has the following to say:

"The Persian poet Firdausi referred to the Baluchis in his Shah Namah when Chosroes attempted to destroy them. Their banner, said Firdausi, bore the device of a tiger. Because of this tiger motif some authorities believe the Baluchis originally came from the Caspian where the tiger is supposed to have originated, and that in fact the Baluchis actually served under Chosroes, the 6th century ruler of Iran.

"The Baluchis as a whole do appear to be traced first in the north of Iran in the neighbourhood of Caspian, about the time of the later Sassanians (6th century A.D.) and probably settled in Kirman after the Muslim conquest there. Their move to Sistan at the beginning of the 10th century and thence into western Makran was probably caused by the Seljuq invasion followed by that of Chengiz Khan."

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4. *The Mazaris and Drishaks.*
5. *A Branch of the Rinds.*
6. *The Bugti Tribes of Baluchistan, By* Sylvia Matheson.

A third version:[7] "The earliest location of Baluchis seems to have been near the Caspian Sea. Nausherwan made war against them. They moved from northern Iran to Kirman as a result of white Huns' invasion in Nausherwan's time. In the 10th century A.D. (4th century hijri) they had moved into Sistan and Kirman but not Makran which was still in the hands of Jats.

"Since they were plunderers they were attacked by established powers. Buwahids (Iran's rulers at that time) destroyed them in great numbers, Masud Ghaznavi also defeated them near Khabis. Consequently, as a result of Seljuq invasion of Kirman and Sistan (11th century A.D.) they were driven into Makran. They occupied Kalat high-lands which were in possession of Brohis. Since then the country began to be named Baluchistan.

"There is no sufficient ground for supposing that any considerable body of Baluch is of Arab blood. The theory of Arab origin seems to have been derived from the Baluch tradition that they are descended from Amir Hamza and that they came from Halb, fought against Yazid in Karbala etc.

"Earlier Muslim writers Balhaduri (d. 892 A.D.) and Tibri (d. 932 A.D.) mention only the Kooch which shows Baluch were not there when the first Arab invasion took place.

"But a few years later, Masudi (d. 943 A.D.) and Istakhari (d. 951 A.D.) describe Baluch as occupying the mountains of Kirman and are associated with the Kooch wa Baluch.

"Authorities of a still later period also mention them. Idrisi in about 1151 A.D. says that the Kooch mountains were occupied by a wild race like the Kurds; and Baluch were to the north and west of them. Yakuti also confirms this statement and quotes an Arabic poem about this country which says 'what wild regions we have travesed, occupied by Zutt, Kurds and barbarous kings'.

"Yakuti says that the Baluch were the most terrible of all these races. The Irani ruler Muizud Dowla lost his one hand fighting against Kooch and Baluch. However, another Irani monarch Adud Dowla is said to have destroyed them between 949-982 A.D. Istakhari writes that in his time two provinces of Sistan were known as Baluch country. Their plunderings brought the wrath of Mahmud Ghaznavi who sent his son Masud at whose hands they were defeated near Khabis. Next they were expelled from Sistan. About this time began their eastward movement during which they settled in Makran. In the next 300 years they absorbed both Jat and Arab tribes living there."

7. *Encyclopaedia of Islam.*

"The Brohis also claim to have come from Halb *i.e.,* Aleppo in Syria and according to one version, may be the tribe of Kooch who were with Baluch in Kirman. The word Kooch actually means nomad. Idrisi says that they were a sort of Kurds. This theory gains strength from the fact that there is still a tribe among the Brohis known as Kurds. In fact Brohis in Las Bela are known as Kurd-gali *i.e.,* men of Kurd speech."

"Some authorities classify Brohis as Turko-Iranian, some as Scythians (Sakas) who came to India centuries ago....... According to another version they have the same origin as the Baluchis and are just another section of the same nucleus who came from the valley of the Al-burz mountains."[8]

A fourth version:[9] "The formation of the Baluchi ethnolinguistic community is associated with the migration into Kirman of a group of the nomadic Iranian tribes whose original home embraced the areas adjacent to the southern coast of the Caspian Sea. Why and when this migration occurred is not clear. It is possible that it was brought about by Khusraw Anushirwan's campaigns against the tribes inhabiting the territory of present-day Gilan and Azerbaijan, or by the incursion of the Epthalites into northern Iran. If the latter is the case, the south eastward migration of the Iranian tribes who account for the ethnogenesis of the Baluchis took place approximately in the fifth and the early sixth centuries A.D.

"It is not impossible, however, that there are some other contributing factors and the migration dates from a much earlier period. In this connection Strabon's statement that in population of Kirman "the morals and speech are, for the most part, Persian and Median" is noteworthy. The Baluchi language descends from the ancient Iranian dialect dominant in the territory of Media and Parthia, *i.e.,* in the north and north-western areas of the Iranian world. It is this consideration that furnishes one of the major arguments in support of the fact that the areas adjacent to the southern coasts of the Caspian were the original home of the Baluchis.

"The Muslim authors localize the Baluchis to the mountains and plains of Kirman as early as the mid-seventh century in their accounts of the Arabic campaigns in these areas. Down to the late tenth century the Baluchis occupied mainly the western and northern areas of Kirman. Settlements of the Baluchis also occur in Sistan and western Makran.

"The Arabic conquests in south-eastern Iran contributed to the gradual spread of Islam among the Baluchis. Yet, the new religion took a long time to diffuse throughout the Baluchi society, and the pre-Islamic religious

8. Population Census of Pakistan, 1961: Dist. Census Report Kalat.
9. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By* Yu. V. Gankovsky.

concepts were still predominant among the bulk of the Baluchis. The tenth century authors point out that the Baluchis were Muslims only in name.

"The power of the Arabic vicegerents in the territory of present-day Iranian and Pakistani Baluchistan held on down to the close of the tenth century (mainly in the coastal areas of the country; in the heart of the mainland their rein never left far beyond the walls of the fortified cities in which the military garrisons were lodged).

"In A.D. 976 the Arabs still possessed certain areas of Baluchistan; at any rate Ibn Hauqal refers to an Arab vicegerent in Kizkanan (or Kaikanan, Kikan which is identified with present-day Kalat). Soon, Sabuktegin, ruler of Ghazni (977-997) overran the north-east of the country. In some of the sources we find evidence that the successors of Sabuktegin held Khuzdar in Jhalawan whose sovereign ruler managed, after a bitter fight, to contain Mahmud Ghaznavi. It is also known that the ruler of Makran paid tribute to that monarch.

"The Baluchi forays into Sistan and Khorasan entailed repressions on the part of the Ghaznavides. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Ghaznavide troops sent into Kirman dealt a serious blow to the Baluchis round Khabis. These events, in addition to the movement of the Turkmen-Saljuks into north-eastern Iran in the middle of the eleventh century, speeded up the migration of part of the Baluchi tribes above all from Sistan and northern Kirman farther east into Makran, in the western areas of which in Bannajbur (present-day Panjgur) there were already Baluchi settlements at that time.

"The migration of the Baluchis into the territory of present-day Baluchistan was an important milestone in their ethnic history. It is in this territory that the ethno-linguistic community formed as the basis of the Baluchi ethnogenesis as a result of various contacts with the local pre-Indo-European, Indo-Aryan and Iranian population during the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. The following fact, brought to light by the students of Baluchi folklore and genealogical legends, is worth citing here. According to these legends, the lifetime of the legendary ancestor of the Baluchis, Mir Jalal Khan, whose four sons (Rind, Lashari, Hot and Korai) and daughter (Jato) are the eponyms of the largest of the Baluchi tribes, falls in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is evidently during this period that the major tribal unions which formed the nucleus of the Baluchi Feudal nationality in the sequel did arise.

"The predatory campaigns of the Ghaznavides and Ghurids and above all the forays of the Mongols, part of whom (the Nikudari Hordes) settled

in the territory of western Afghanistan and eastern Iran in the middle of the 13th century, resulted in the devastation of farming oases in the territory of Baluchistan, the reduction of the settled land cultivating population and the decline of several small feudal states that flourished there (Turan in the eastern part of Baluchistan, with Khuzdar as the capital city; Kandabil, present-day Gandava; Kej in Western Makran and others)."

So much about the origin and early immigration of Baluch and Brohi tribes. Next we shall briefly narrate the history of Brohis and Baluchis separately and give the names of tribes associated with each.

Baluchis proper are divided into two groups and separated by the central mass of Brohis. The north-east Baluch group occupies the plain of Kachchi, the hills to the north of it which merge into the Suleman mountains, the D.G. Khan district of the Punjab and the Jacobabad District of Sind. The other Baluch group lives in the south-west comprising of major portion of Makran and Persian Baluchistan. In between are the Brohis—a compact block from Quetta through Kalat up to Lasbela. The north-eastern Baluchis are very much influenced by the people of Sind and the Punjab while the south-western Baluchis by the people of Iran. This dispersion indicates that Baluchis are mostly settled outside Baluchistan—in Sind and the Punjab districts in the east and in Iran in the west.

HISTORY OF BROHIS: THE KHANATE OF KALAT

We shall begin with Brohis first who occupy the Central bloc in Baluchistan and are greater in number in that Province than the Baluchis. As already stated, they were the earlier inhabitants of this area who migrated here first and settled in the highlands of Kalat and Kharan. The Baluchis who followed them could not dislodge them from their positions and after the failure of such an attempt proceeded northward and eastward leaving the field open for the emergence of a Brohi Kingdom under the Khan of Kalat in the middle of the 16th century. "As a result of the emigration of Baluchis towards the Punjab and Sind under Mir Chakar and Mir Sohrab, Brohis were left in a strong position and Kambrani Chiefs rose to eminence. They extended their dominion over Kachch, Makran and Las Bela." Mir Omar Mirwani founded the Kalat state after defeating the Arghuns in 1530 A.D. But the struggle for power with the Baluchis continued for over a hundred years until the Rind and Lashari Baluch were finally driven out. The death of Mandaw (brother-in-law of Mir Chakar) in a battle with Mirwanis and Kambranis in Kalat sealed the fate of Rinds.[10] But next, the

10. *History of Baluch Race and Baluchistan, By* Mohd. Sardar Khan Baluch.

Brohis had to content with another power, that of the rulers of Herat, who attacked Baluchistan and captured Kalat.

However, the Brohis succeeded in overthrowing Herat's rule as well during the time of Shah Jahan in the middle of the 17th century. Earlier, from 1556 to 1575 Kalat was under the Safavid rulers of Iran. In the time of Akber the country extending south to Kachchi was part of the Mughal Empire but from 1638 it was again under the sovereignty of the Safavids for quite some time. However, for the next three hundred years from the middle of the 17th century A.D. till the establishment of Pakistan in the middle of the 20th century, the history of Baluchistan revolves round the Khanate of Kalat.

The first ruler of Kalat who could be said to have been truly independent was Mir Ahmed Khan I who ascended the throne in 1666 A.D. His entire rule of 29 years was spent in fighting the Pathans, the Mughals and the Kalhora rulers of Sind. Later, the Khans of Kalat changed their policy cultivating good relations with the Pathans and the Mughals while retaining their antagonism towards the Kalhoras. During the time of Aurangzeb the two brothers, Daud Mohammad Kalhora and Nur Mohammad Kalhora of Sind went to war against the Mughal Governor of Multan, were defeated and took shelter in Baluchistan. The Mughal Emperor asked the Khan of Kalat to capture them and hand them over to his officers. But the Kalat ruler Mehrab Khan was himself killed while trying to capture the two brothers. However, when his successor Samandar Khan succeeded in carrying out the orders, Aurangzeb was so pleased with him that he issued a 'farman' transferring the jurisdiction of the port of Karachi from the Kalhora rulers of Sind to the Khan of Kalat as compensation for the blood of Mehrab Khan.[11] (But according to another version it was Mir Naseer Khan who took Karachi from the Kalhoras in 1756 A.D. half a century after Aurangzeb's death). During Samandar Khan's reign the Safavi King of Iran claimed Mastung and Kalat and sent an army in 1699 to take possession of these areas. Samandar Khan defeated the Iranian army upon which Aurangzeb praised his valour and conferred on him an annual stipend of Rs. 2 lacs.

The next important ruler of Kalat was Abdulla Khan 'the conqueror' (1716-31) who won a number of campaigns in Quetta, Mastung, Kachchi etc. and was killed while fighting against the Kalhoras of Sind. He was succeeded by Muhabat Khan who acknowledged the suzerainty of the new

11. *Tareekh-e-Baluchistan, By* Mir Gul Khan Nasir. and Mukhtasar Tareekh Qaum-e-Baluch and Khawanin-e-Baluch by Ahmad Yar Khan, former Khan of Kalat.

Iranian warlord Nader Shah. After defeating the Delhi Emperor in 1739 when Nader Shah was returning home, he ravaged Sind, annihilated the army of the Kalhoras and made them transfer the Kachchi region to Kalat ruler who had acknowledged his suzerainty. During Muhabat Khan's regime Lasbela also became subservient to Kalat and its new ruler Jam Sadiq Khan agreed to pay the latter, half of his income.

One year after Ahmad Shah Abdali set himself up as ruler of the newly created state of Afghanistan, he attacked Kalat in 1748. But Muhabat Khan acknowledged his suzerainty as did his predecessor to Nadir Shah and agreed to pay annual tribute.

MIR NASEER KHAN THE GREAT

The next ruler of Kalat, Mir Naseer Khan, who ascended the throne in 1750 A.D. was the most important and powerful in the annals of Baluchistan history. Though Kalat was conquered and the house of Kalat established by Mir Omar Mirwani, and by the efforts of the two subsequent rulers Mir Ahmed Khan I and Mir Abdullah Khan, yet the real founder of the state was Mir Naseer Khan. It was he who extended the rule of Kalat and the boundaries of Baluchistan by conquering Makran, Dizak, Kharan, Chagi, Nushki, Mastung, the area from Shalkot (Quetta) to Pishin and from Khetran to the Kohistan region. Naseer Khan also formed a confederacy of Brohi tribes of Sarawan and Jhalawan; placed Sarawan under the leadership of Raisanis and Jhalawan under Zehris with himself as the chief. The chiefs of Sarawan and Jhalawan with their standard-bearers bearing banners of red and yellow, had the privilege to sit on the Khan's right and left, their place in battle right and left of centre. No measure of importance could be passed without their consent. Raisanis who were head of the Sarawan Sardars have played an important role in the history of Baluchistan, next only to that of the Khan of Kalat. On one occasion when the Kalat ruler had lost his kingdom he regained it with the help of Raisanis.

Once well established, Naseer Khan refused to pay the annual tribute to Afghanistan. This made Abdali attack Kalat in which he achieved a decisive victory. However, a treaty was concluded according to which Kalat again acknowledged the suzerainty of Abdali and the latter agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of the State.

"During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a number of state formations, in which the feudalizing aristocracy of the tribes was in the ascendant, arose in the territory of Baluchistan. The rulers of these states were the vassals of the Iranian Shahs and the Great Mughals. By the middle

of the eighteenth century the conditions were ripe, as a result of the dissolution of Nadir Shah's Empire and the weakening of the power of the Great Mughals, for the whole of Baluchistan to unite within the framework of a single feudal state. The unification was accomplished by the rulers of the mightiest of the Khanates—Kalat—who came from the Kambrani or Ahmadzai dynasty of Brahui origin (from the founder of the dynasty—Mir Ahmad Khan who reigned in 1666-1695).

"The Beglerbeg (begs' beg) of Baluchistan, Naseer Khan (1750-1795) was the most powerful of these rulers. In the matter of war, his power was supported by a confederation of five Brahui tribes whose sardars were endowed with lands in Sarawan and Jhalawan. Naseer Khan's domains included Bampur, Kasrkand and Dizak in the west, Shal (Quetta) in the north, Harran and Dajil (south of Dera Ghazi Khan) in the north-east. In the east these bordered on Sind. The Khans of Lasbela and Kej were vassals of Naseer Khan in the south.

"Although Naseer Khan Baluch was a vassal of Ahmad Shah Durrani and his successors, the only thing that this vassalage demanded was the supply of an armed contingent to the Durrani army. For this Naseer Khan gained the control of Shal, Mastung, Harran and Dajil. Nor did the Durrani Shahs interfere with the internal affairs of the Kalat Khanate."[12]

"Naseer Khan's 45-year rule from 1750-95 A.D. was the Augustan age in Baluchistan. He combined most exceptional virtues with the most vigorous government, suppressed rebellion, encouraged trade and established gardents. His justice and equity are household words."[13] According to another author: "If we contemplate the character of Naseer Khan, whether as a soldier, a statesman or a prince, we shall find in him a most extraordinary combination of all the virtues attached to those stations and duties. He was considered a saint."

"During Naseer Khan's rule Brohi power reached its zenith. The Khanate extended to the districts of Quetta, Mastung, Kalat, Khuzdar, Harran and Dajil. Naseer Khan asserted his authority over Panjgur, Kej, Kasarkand, Dizak and Kharan. He strengthened his connections with Lasbela and wrested the port of Karachi from the house of Sind. His death was followed by half a century of strife, decay and disintegration."[14]

It was during Naseer Khan's rule that Ahmed Shah Abdali fought the 3rd battle of Panipat against the Marathas (1761). The Khan sent

12. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By* Yu. V. Gankovsky.
13. *Across the Border of Pathan and Biloch, By* Edward E. Oliver.
14. Population Census of Pakistan, 1961: Census Report Kalat.

10,000 Baluchi troops who joined Abdali at Rawalpindi, and Naseer Khan himself, with another 15,000 troops, joined Abdali at Panipat. These 25,000 Baluchi troops played an important role in the battle of Panipat and made a significant contribution to the Muslim victory over the Marathas. Baluch troops also helped Ahmed Shah Abdali in his campaigns against the Sikhs. Abdali was invariably accompanied by Baluch soldiers in his campaigns.

DECLINE OF THE KHANATE OF KALAT

After Mir Naseer Khan's death in 1795 conditions began to deteriorate. It may be pointed out that Iranian Baluchistan also belonged to the Khanate of Kalat but taking advantage of internal dissensions, the Qachar rulers of Iran gradually annexed it. Similarly, when the next Kalat ruler Mir Mahmud Khan was busy quelling a rebellion, Karam Ali Talpur, the ruler of Sind occupied Karachi in 1796 and since then this port city has remained part of Sind after having been under the Khan of Kalat for about half a century.

"The growth of the feudal states held by the sardars of the Baluch tribes in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the time of trouble that followed the death of Naseer Khan resulted in the dissolution of his state into several small *de facto* sovereign principalities. An important factor contributing to the fall of Naseer Khan's state was the desire of the rulers of separate regions to raise their share in the gross feudal tallage by reducing the share due to the Kalat Khan and head of the state. While Naseer Khan's annual revenue exceeded three million rupees, his son and successor Mahmud Khan (1795-1816) had a mere income of 350,000 rupees, since the fuedal rulers of Kej, Panjgur, Las, Dizak and Kharan who struck out on their own took full possession of the tallage levied on the population of these provinces."[15]

Mir Mehrab Khan's rule witnessed further deterioration. Due to the rebellion of Mengals and Bizenjos, Kalat lost control of Kachchi, Sarawan and Jhalawan while the Governor of Makran, Sardar Faqir Mohammad Khan Bizenjo also withdrew cooperation.

During Mehrab Khan's rule another element entered the politics of this area. The British, who had conquered the whole of Bengal and India by this time, had not yet annexed the areas constituting Pakistan. When Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Punjab, Peshawar Valley and Kashmir refused the British army passage through his territory to attack Afghanistan, they entered Sind in 1838 and obtained Mehrab Khan's permission to cross

15. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By* Yu. V. Gankovsky.

Baluchistan territory. This was the first British political contact with Kalat. Having succeeded in installing Shah Shuja as the ruler of Afghanistan after the First Afghan War, the British detached Kachchi, Shal (Quetta) and Mastung from Baluchistan and handed them over to the Afghan Government of Shah Shuja. Suspecting Mehrab Khan of anti-British activities they selected Shah Nawaz Khan, a man of their choice who belonged to the ruling family of Kalat, and installed him as ruler. But there was general revolt in the entire area. The first to rise was the Marri tribe. The rebellion spread to Sarawan while the Kakar tribe attacked Quetta. The British sent their forces to Kalat in 1840 and occupied the State. However, they concluded a treaty with Mir Naseer Khan II of Kalat in 1841 under which they returned Kachchi, Shal (Quetta) and Mastung to the Khan which had been handed over to Afghanistan. Under the agreement, British also agreed to withdraw their forces from the territories under the Khan of Kalat.

When a few years later the British conquered Sind and West Punjab-NWFP from the Talpurs and the Sikhs respectively they concluded another treaty in 1854 under which the Khan of Kalat became subservient to the British, retaining autonomy and a semblance of independence. In spite of all these developments Kalat still remained elusive to British control where they could not exercise any effective authority.

By another treaty concluded in 1856 the Khan of Kalat agreed to suppress tribal revolts in which task he miserably failed. Many tribes rose against him resulting in complete loss of his authority. After a period of confusion, Khudadad Khan recovered Kalat with the assistance of Raisanis. However, tribal revolts continued unabated. At this stage Col. Sandeman who, as Dy. Commissioner, Dera Ghazi Khan, had acquired great influence with the Marris, Bugtis and Mazaris was sent to Kalat in 1875. With the help of Sir Imam Baksh Khan Mazari he succeeded in resolving disputes between the Khan of Kalat and the revolting tribes at Mastung in 1876. He adopted the new policy of "conciliatory intervention" *i.e.,* the British continued to intervene in the affairs of the State, but in a conciliatory and cordial manner with the object of pacifying and cooling down the Khan and his Sardars. The policy met with resounding success. The same year a treaty was concluded with the Khan under which Kalat became a protected State and the Government of India secured right of intervention to restore order. The Khan was forbidden to have any relations with foreign powers and was given an annual subsidy of rupees one lac. The treaty brought the Khan under British sovereignty. Col. Sandeman became the first Agent to the Governor-General for Baluchistan with his headquarters at Quetta.

From 1861-92 Sir Robert Sandeman pacified the whole of Baluchistan in a manner that made a British diplomat say: "I doubt if there is any part of India where our influence and authority have taken root more kindly and rapidly than they have done in Baluchistan under Sandeman."[16] Sir R. Sandeman died in 1892 at Lasbela and is buried there.

But Baluchistan hardly remained peaceful. Baluchis often rose against the British rule. There were revolts in north-east and central Baluchistan in 1897-98 and 1901; in Bampur and Dizak in 1897-1900 and in Kalat in 1907. These risings continued in 1915, 1916, 1925, 1927 and 1928.

In Iranian Baluchistan also Baluchi tribes revolted, swept away the Shah's troops and officials and took control of the area. Because of common interests, the British and Iranian governments provoked inter-tribal clashes among the Baluchis to weaken them. This also provided an opportunity to the British and Iranian governments to intervene and suppress the Baluchis ruthlessly. It may be recalled that part of Baluchistan was conquered by Mohammad Shah Qachar (1834-48) and since then it has been called Persian Baluchistan. But this area always remained semi-independent never yielding to Persian rule.

This, in brief was the history of the Brohi kingdom of Kalat whose ruler belongs to the Kambrani tribe of Brohis. Under the leadership of the Khans of Kalat Baluch territories embraced Makran, Lasbela and Kachchi regions which today form the province of Baluchistan.

Among the important Brohi tribes are: Bizenjo, Mengal, Sadji, Zehri, Kambrani, Mirwani, Gurgnari, Samalani and Kalandrani. But according to Hughes Buller: "True Brohis who form the nucleus of the race are only Kambrani, Mirwani, Gurgnari, Samalani, Kalandrani." According to some authors Raisanis are also Brohis but others consider them of Pakhtun origin.

IMPORTANCE OF QUETTA

Quetta was temporarily occupied by the British during the First Afghan war of 1839-42 but was later on abandoned. Its strategic importance, being at the head of the Bolan Pass, was first recognised by Gen. John Jacob who urged the Governor-General of India, Lord Canning, in 1856 to garrison this important point of vantage. But the proposal was rejected on the ground that Quetta was an isolated place and surrounded by tribes. In 1866, Sir Henry Green, Political Supdt. of Upper Sind again proposed that Quetta should be garrisoned and connected by

16. *Pioneers of Progress, By* A.L.P. Tucker.

rail with Karachi. The suggestion was again rejected. However, when the Russians occupied Khiva in Central Asia and were drawing nearer to the Afghan border, the British made Quetta a military station. Under increased subsidy to the Khan of Kalat, railway and telegraphic lines were run through his territory and Quetta was connected with the cities of Sind.

During the second Afghan War of 1878-80 Quetta, which is at the head of the Bolan Pass, was freely used by the British troops. Under the Gandamak treaty with the Afghan ruler Amir Yakub Ali Khan, Harnai, Sibi, Pishin and the area upto Khwaja Amran mountains were transferred to British India from Afghanistan. These districts later formed the nucleus of British Baluchistan which were further extended through the valley of Thal Kotiali, Bori and Zhob lying between Pishin and Suleiman mountains. In 1887 all these districts were declared British territory and the status of Agent to the Governor-General was raised to that of a Resident of the First class who on the one hand represented the British paramountcy over the States of Kalat (including Kharan, Makran and Lasbela) and on the other functioned as the Chief Commissioner for the districts forming British territories. A railway line was laid from the Indus Valley to Pishin Plateau by Harnai Pass in 1879 and military stations set up at Loralai and Fort Sandeman which replaced the old ones of D.G. Khan, Jacobabad and Rajanpur. Construction of several railway branches in north and north-east Baluchistan was undertaken during 1891-1905.

Since Bolan Pass is an important trade route and a track of vital strategic value through which most of the great migrations into this sub-continent have taken place and which has served as the passage for several invading armies, control over this region has been coveted by all the neighbouring powers. There was a long tussle for its domination between the Safavids of Iran and the Mughals of India and later between the Afghan and Kalat rulers. Finally, at the end of the 19th century, British brought it under their direct rule naming it British Baluchistan, although major portion of Quetta Division is not Baluchi but Pakhtun.

BALUCHI HEROES: CHAKAR KHAN & SOHRAB KHAN

Next, we shall briefly narrate the history of the Baluchis which relates to events more outside Baluchistan than inside this region where Brohis had a complete sway for over 300 years under the Khan of Kalat as stated above. Three factors were responsible for the migration of Baluchis from Baluchistan into NWFP, Punjab and Sind. Firstly, their failure to dis-

lodge the Brohi tribes from their positions; secondly, the Mongol attacks of the 13th and 14th centuries, and thirdly absence of sufficient resources in the region to sustain a large population. The main migrations took place in the form of attacks by Baluchi tribes in the north and east under the command of two great leaders: Mir Chakar Khan (1457-1550 A.D.), head of the Rind tribe, and Mir Sohrab Khan, head of the Dodais. It is said that at first there was an internal struggle between the two tribes of Rinds and Lasharis, the first headed by Mir Chakar and the second by Mir Gwaharam. Chakar is said to have won the struggle ultimately with the help of Sultan Hussain Baikara of Khurasan; Lasharis were beaten completely and driven out of Gandava whence they migrated to Thatta and Hyderabad districts in Sind where they settled down for good. But this fight between Mir Chakar and Gwaharam which lasted for 25 years devastated Baluch country and did immense damage to the Baluch race.[17]

Baluchis first began to migrate towards the north and the east along River Indus as early as 14th century A.D. The Sumra ruler, Doda IV employed them against his rivals. The first large-scale migration, however began at the time of Baber's invasion of India and Arghun invasion of Sind in early 16th century. The Indus Valley settlers now found in southern parts of NWFP, Punjab and Sind are the real Baluchis who claim to be descended from Jalal Khan's four sons and one daughter: Rind, Hot, Lashari, Korai and Jato. Of these five sections, Rinds form the aristocracy whose leader during these adventurous migration was Mir Chakar Khan.

The Baluchis actively participated both in Baber's campaigns against Lodhi ruler of India and in Arghun's campaigns against Kalhora rulers of Sind. The Dodais under Mir Sohrab Khan spread in the north as far as Bhera where Baber met them in 1519. It is said that when Baber fought the first battle of Panipat in 1526 A.D. against the Afghan King of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodhi, a large number of Baluchis were in Baber's army. After the victory, Babur says: "We began examining and dividing the treasury store, and the Baluchis like all soldiers in general, were granted treasury cash, each according to his position."[18]

Baluchis claim that they also fought against Sher Shah on behalf of Humayun. It is because of this stand that after conquering Kabul, Humayun is said to have bestowed Shal (Quetta) and Mastung on a Baluch Chief named Lawang. Baluchis also claim that in 1555 A.D. they helped Humayun in getting back the Delhi kingdom. It was due to Humayun's favours, it is

17. *History of Baluch Race and Baluchistan, By* M. Sardar Khan Baluch, 1958.

18. *Baber Nama*

related, that Baluchis regained vast tracts in central and southern Punjab which had been taken away from them by Sher Shah Suri.

It may be recalled that after the break-up of the Delhi Sultanate the Langah Rajputs (Muslims) of Multan had formed a small kingdom in south Punjab with Multan as their capital. Shah Hussain was the second and most important king of this dynasty who ruled from 1467-1502 A.D. When the Baluchis began to spread eastward their two Sardars Mir Chakar, head of the Rinds and Mir Sohrab, head of the Dodais, first came to the court of Shah Hussain Langah of Multan and offered their services. In lieu of the services rendered, Shah Hussain gave them jagirs west of Indus (in present D.G. Khan District) and settled them there.

After the death of Dodai Sardar, Mir Sohrab Khan, his three sons Ghazi Khan, Ismail Khan and Fateh Khan spread northward and founded the cities of Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Fateh Khan. The first two cities have survived to our days while the third one, Dera Fateh Khan, was destroyed by the Indus due to change in its course. The Baluch tribes settled in these areas by ousting the Jat population after whom the entire area was called Dera Jat.

Descendants of Ghazi Khan ruled over D.G. Khan for a long time till they were ousted by the Kalhoras of Sind in 1769 A.D. But the Rind Baluch had spread over and settled in a number of districts in the Punjab which was a thinly populated area at that time. Today, Baluchis form quite a sizeable proportion of the population of several districts in the Punjab such as D.G. Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Jhang, Sahiwal, Shahpur and Bahawalpur. The legendary Baluch hero Mir Chakar is buried at Satgarhi in Sahiwal District. Mir Chakar is the national hero of the Rinds in particular and of Baluch in general. He is the subject of innumerable stories: romantic, historical and legendary. He is able to change the tribal buffaloes into stones and so blockade the defiles against his enemies. His name still survives in Chakar-ke-Marri, Chakar-ke-tung and many a peak and pass scattered throughout Sevestan. He is also said to have built the old fort of Sibi and helped Humayun in the 16th century.

The Baluchis, particularly the Rinds, Jatois and Korais who are mixed up with Rajputs and Jats in the areas east of Indus, have lost their language and speak Punjabi and Sindhi. But west of Indus they have retained their language and their organisation particularly in the D.G. Khan and Muzaffargarh Districts. These Baluch tribes settled from north to south are: Kasrani, Bozdar, Nutkarni, Lund, Khosa, Leghari, Gurchani, Drishak, Bugti, Mazari, Marri, Dombki, Umrani, Buledi, Jakrani, Chandio, Rind and Magsi.

Though Baluchis had started settling down in Sind from quite an early period but their chief settlement in this province took place much later. It was the Kalhora rulers of Sind who encouraged them to migrate here in large numbers in the 18th century to augment their forces and lend support to their infirm rule which had been enfeebled by their unsuccessful encounters with Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali. However, in the course of time the Baluchi sardars, once they had gained firm roots in Sind began their struggle to overthrow the Kalhora rulers and assume power for themselves. Ultimately they succeeded, under the leadership of the Talpurs, in throwing out the Kalhoras. But this long-drawn-out struggle for power between Sindhis and Baluchis resulted in immense damage to the economy of the province which was completely ruined leaving a trail of misery, devastation and suffering.

After the First World War (1914-18 A.D.) famine and influenza resulted in the migration of a number of Brohi tribes from Kalat into the adjoining districts of Jacobabad, Sukkur, Larkana and Tharparkar. The opening up of Sind desert also accelerated this migration. The whole belt from Khangarh (Jacobabad) running through Larkana, finally emerging into Dadu district became a Baluch-Brohi belt. According to the 1941 census (before the inception of Pakistan) Baluchis constituted 23% of the total Muslim population of the province of Sind.

In his report on the Muslim tribes of Sind region Sadiq Ali, an authority on the subject, has enumerated the following as the chief Baluchi tribes of the province: Rind, Dombki, Jakhrani, Leghari, Lashari, Chandio, Karmati, Korai, Jatoi, Burdi, Khosa, Jamali, Umrani, Bugti, Marri and Mazari. As will be noticed, many of these tribes are common to Baluchistan, Punjab and Sind. H.T. Lambrick thinks that the Baluchi tribes which may be held to belong almost exclusively to the Sind region are Talpurs, Nizamani, Chandio, Buledi and Karmati.

Thus, while Baluchistan itself was denuded of Baluchis, they formed a sizeable proportion of the population of the Punjab and Sind. The extent of this exodus can be visualized from the fact that, according to the 1951 census of Pakistan, Baluchis constitute a majority only in a few areas of Baluchistan. In Chagi district 60%, in Sibi district 54%, in Kharan 81% and in Makran 100%. "The Baluchis do not occupy a single territory; they are scattered in more or less large groups amidst other peoples."[19] This development has left the Brohi tribes dominant in Baluchistan. According to the 1907 Gazetteer, Brohis are the most numerous race in Baluchistan.

19. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By* Yu. V. Gankovsky.

They distinguish themselves from Baluchis by calling the latter Naroi *i.e.,* low-landers as against Barohi—high-landers.

Region-wise the tribes are settled in Baluchistan as under:

Sarawan: Raisani, Shahwani, Bangalzai, Kurd, Lehri, Langor, Rustamzai, Dehwars, etc. Sibi: Marri and Bguti.

Jhalawan: Zehri, Mengal, Bizenjo, Qambrani, Mirwani, Gurgnari, Rodini, Samalani, Qalandarani, Sadji, Musiani, etc.

Kachchi: Rinds, Magsi, Dombkis, Umranis, Buledis, Khosas, Jatois, Jamots, Abrus, Machis, Katpars, Chachas, Golas, etc.

BROHI—BALUCHI LITERATURE

Baluchi literature developed for centuries mainly as folklore circulated by word of mouth, because Baluchistan was a backward country both economically and culturally, urban life was in its infancy and no big cities were in existence. As the Brohi state came into its own, Farsi became the official language as it was in the neighbouring countries. Arabic remained the language of religion. Literature was nearly stunned in its development; the Baluchi literary monuments, as far as the available evidence goes, are few and they are in fact mere records (possibly modified) of the folklore texts. Baluchi is actually an Iranian tongue belonging to the East Iranian branch although in some respects it shows greater affinity with old Persian.

Brohi, an old language of Kalat highlands was more developed than Baluchi and as such was adopted by both the tribes. But neither Brohi nor Baluchi had any written literature. They possess popular poetry including a number of heroic ballads dealing with the wars and migrations of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Written literature could not develop because the Brohis and Baluchis regarded only war as noble profession. "They despised even agriculture and viewed arts with contempt; art of writing would fall beneath contempt. The Doughlas in Mermian thanks his saint:

"That son of mine, save Gawin, ne'er could pen a line."

This is very much the attitude of the Baluch. Whatever there is of tribal or national tradition has been handed down in the poems and ballads of which they are exceedingly fond. Only in modern times has Brohi begun to be written but does not possess any literature.

BALUCHIS MOSTLY OF RAJPUT & JAT STOCK

The various versions given earlier indicate that Brohis and Baluchis both belong to the pre-Muslim north Iranian tribal stocks. They migrated

slowly, over a period of centuries, to the Makran region and gave it the name of Baluchistan.

Who were these north Iranian tribes? According to authorities, they were Sakas who, in pre-Christian era migrated in large numbers to the areas now known as Afghaistan, N.W.F.P., Punjab and Sind. "The most important of these barbarian tribes were the Sakas.........It is possible that the Baluchis who are first heard of historically in the time of Nausherwan, are an off-shoot of the same stock."[20] According to Kennedy also "Baluchis are the descendants of Sakas who settled in Dragiana and later on gave it the name of Sakastan (Sijistan) modern Seistan." In one of the inscriptions of Darius it is mentioned that Maka are a branch of the Saka tribe. Thus, in all likelihood, the people of Makaran-Baluchistan are of the same stock as those of the other provinces of Pakistan.

Moreover, when they settled down in the territory now called Makran and Baluchistan, the original inhabitants of these areas, as already stated, were Jats. According to all available accounts, both Brohis and Baluchis intermingled with Jats and can hardly be said to retain pure blood. If an analysis is made on tribal basis of the people of Baluchistan it will be found that a majority of the tribes are either of Rajput/Jat origin or mixed with them. Lasis of Las Bela are Rajputs and Jats whose language, Jagdali, is a form of Sindhi. Their leading tribes are all of Rajput/Jat origin such as Jamot, Ranjha, Langah, Chatta, Gonga, Balber, Gadra, Med, etc., while Kachchi, Makran, Kalat and Sibi have a sizeable Jat population. Then the Gichki and Dodai tribes are also of mixed Rajput/Jat blood. According to Baluchis themselves Dodais are a mixed tribe of Jat origin belonging to the Sutha-Surma class. Dodai, their founder, had married a Baluch girl. The former rulers of Makran and Lasbela, called Gichki and Jamots respectively, are Rajputs. Jhakrani and Khetrans are Jats; Hotis are an old race of Rajput origin. Even such important tribes as Bizenjo, Sadji and Zehri are said to be of Jat origin. "The three largest Brohi tribes are by themselves called Jagdal which means Jat."[21] Tod considers Talpurs a branch of the Noomries of Baluchistan who now style themselves Afghans but are in fact one of the most numerous of the Gete or Jit (Jat) tribes."[22]

"While some authorities believe the Baluchis are of Syrian origin, others take them to be of Turkoman stock and still others of Arab, Persian and even Rajput."[23] The word Jatoi also betrays its origin *i.e.,* Jat. "Sul-

20. Encyclopaedia of Islam.
21. *Gazetteer of West Pakistan, the Province of Sind, By* T.H. Sorley.
22. *Annals of Rajastan, By* Todd.
23. *The Bugti Tribes of Baluchistan, By* Sylvia Matheson.

tanul Mulk Imaduddin Ismail bin Afzal dealing with the geography of Kirman states that near the mountain region of 'Qufs' lie the mountains of Baluchis who speak a language akin to Indian dialect and are classed with the Jats (Tareekh-al-Buldan). The great authority H.W. Bellew identifies the name Baluch with 'Balliacha', a clan of the Chauhan Rajputs."[24]

The Masori and Maretha clans of Bugtis are considered of purely local origin. The names of some of the clans such as Shaheja and Langhani among the Marris; Raheja among Bugtis and Haripal, Suree, Kakar and Indhar among Pathan tribes show affinity with present Hindu tribes of similar names such as Shahuja, Rahuja, Langah, Suri, Kakar, Haripal and Indhar.

A word about the Afghan/Pathan tribes of Quetta Division. It may be pointed out that this area along with the Qandahar region, was the cradle of Pakhtun race. The great Pakhtun sufi poet and spiritual leader of Pakhtuns, Bet Neka, belonged to Sheengar, in the Suleman Range north of Fort Sandeman. The most important Pakhtun tribes of the Division are Kakar, Panni, Tarin, Shirani and Achakzai all of whom are split up between Baluchistan and Afghanistan. These Pakhtun tribes of Quetta Division have been tossed, during the course of history between the Indian, Iranian and later between the Afghan and Kalat rulers.

SUMMARY

To summarise: According to various versions, the Brohis and Baluchis were originally living along the Caspian coast in northern Iran. They were probably of Saka stock. During the course of seven hundred years, from 6th century A.D. to 14th century A.D. due to various reasons, mostly fresh onslaughts of Central Asian tribes, they lived a nomadic life migrating south-eastward in stages. At the time of Arab conquest of Iran, Afghanistan and Makran in the latter half of the 7th century A.D. they were living in Sijistan and Persian Baluchistan and had not migrated to Pakistani Baluchistan which was then called Maka-ran and was inhabited by Jats and Rajputs. This region was then under the jurisdiction of the ruler of Sind. It was only in the 12th/13th century that they migrated to and settled in Pakistani Baluchistan.

During the three hundred years from 15th to 18th century A.D. the Baluchis migrated further east and north-east into NWFP, Punjab and Sind, making large settlements in all these provinces. This process of migra-

24. *History of Baluch Race and Baluchistan, By* Mohammad Sardar Khan Baluch, 1958.

tion has not ceased even to the present day, though it is mostly confined to Sind.

During the 16th century, there was a long-drawn-out struggle between the Brohi and Baluchi tribes for supremacy in Baluchistan. Ultimately, the Brohis, under the leadership of the Khan of Kalat emerged triumphant establishing their rule over the whole region. This led to further exodus of Baluchi tribes who, under the leadership of Mir Chakar Khan and Mir Sohrab Khan, migrated to and settled along the banks of River Indus and held sway over these regions for a long time. This exodus left the Baluchis in a minority in the very province which was named after them.

For three hundred years, roughly from the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 20th century, Baluchistan was ruled by the Brohis with Khan of Kalat as their head supported mainly by the Raisani and Zehri Sardars.

The Baluchi tribes who had migrated to and settled in Sind also began to gird up their loins to rule over the province of their adoption. This led to bitter struggle for power between the Sindhis under the leadership of the Kalhoras and the Baluchis under the leadership of Talpurs. Ultimately the Talpurs triumphed in establishing their rule over Sind in 1783 A.D. from which they were ousted 60 years later in 1843 by the British.

Today many times more Baluchis are living in eastean Iran, southern Afghanistan, Sind, N.W.F.P. and Punjab than in Baluchistan itself.

Baluchis and Brohis have been and are playing a very important role in the politics of Pakistan. Talpurs, Jatois, Nizamanis, Chandios, Khosas, Mazaris, Gurmanis, Hotis, Lagharis, Bizenjos, Mengals, Bugtis, Marris and Zehris are familiar names.

Main Brohi tribes are: Kambrani, Mirwani, Gurgnari, Samalani, Kalandarani, Raisani, Bizenjo, Mengal, Sadji, Zehri etc.

Main Baluch tribes are: Rind, Lashar, Hot, Korai, Jatoi, Nizamani, Lund, Khosa, Leghari, Bugti, Mazari, Marri, Magsi, Chandio, Talpur, Bozdar, Karrani, Natkarni, Gurchani, Drishek and Dombki.

TH PEOPLE AND THE LAND OF SIND

The land of Sind has a hoary past with some of the most striking episodes of history having occurred in its bosom. It has given a slightly different variation of its name to our neighbouring country and to the religious majority of its inhabitants. Both the words India and Hindu are derived from Sindhu, which, in Persian became Hind and Hindu (the letter H substituted for S) and in Greek and Roman, Ind (the letter S of (S)ind having been dropped). The meaning of the word Sindhu is water, referring to the great river. There is an old belief among Muslims that four rivers had sprung from Heaven: Neel (Nile), Furat (Euphrates), Jehoon (Juxartes) and Sehoon (Sind).

The Aryans called the whole of Pakistan, Kashmir and East Afghanistan, Sapta Sindhu—the land of seven rivers. In Rigveda it is referred to as Sapta Sindhva, while India is named Bharat Varta (the land of the sons of Bharat, a legendary Emperor).[1] Thus, even for the Aryans there were two countries in this sub-continent: Sapta Sindhva and Bharat Varta. The Assyrians in the 7th century B.C. knew the north-western part of the sub-continent as Sinda.[2] However, when India began to be called Hind by Persians and Arabs, and Ind by Greeks and Romans, the local people continued to call their land, Sind. This distinction continued for centuries. Arab geographers, historians and travellers also called the entire area from the Arabian Sea to the range of Kashmir mountains Sind.[3] As such, there were always two countries in the sub-continent—Sind and Hind. The present Pakistan (including Kashmir and a major portion of Afghanistan) constituting one country, and India, another.

As regards the composition of the population of Sind Province (before Partition) the two main stocks that inhabit Sind are related to, and common, one with the Punjab and another with Baluchistan. The majority stock is that of Rajputs and Jats who are the descendants of Sakas, Kushans and Huns who also constitute the majority of the population of the Punjab. During Kalhora rule a number of Jat tribes such as the Sials, Joyas and Khawars came from the Punjab and settled in northern Sind. They are called Sirai *i.e.,* men from the north and speak Siraiki language.

The two main Rajput tribes of Sind are: the Samma, a branch of the Yadav Rajputs who inhabit the eastern and lower Sind and Bahawalpur;

1. *The Wonder that was India, By* A.L. Bhasham.
2. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By* Yu. V. Gankovsky.
3. *Arab-o-Hind ke Talluqat, By* Sulaiman Nadvi.

and the Sumra who, according to the 1907 edition of the Gazetteer are a branch of the Parwar Rajputs. Among others are the Bhuttos, Bhattis, Lakha, Sahetas, Lohanas, Mohano, Dahars, Indhar, Chachar, Dhareja, Rathors, Dakhan, Langah etc.[4] The Mohano tribe is spread over Makran, Sind and southern Punjab. They are also identified with the 'Mallah' of the Punjab and both have in common a sub-section called Manjari. All these old Sindhi tribes are known under the common nomenclature of Sammat.

The smaller stock is that of Baluchi tribes settled in various parts of Sind mostly during the last five hundred years or so. Since they were martial people and ruled over Sind for some time before the arrival of the British, they acquired vast lands in the province with the result that a large number of present-day Sindhi landlords are of Baluch origin. According to the 1941 census, which was the last one held before Partition Baluchis formed 23% of the total Muslim population of Sind.

Among the Baluchi tribes inhabiting Sind are the Rind, Dombki, Jakhrani, Leghari, Lashari, Chandio, Karmati, Korai, Jatoi, Burdi, Khosa, Jamali, Umrani, Bugti, Marri, Mazari, Talpur, Brohi, Nizamani, Buledhi, Karrani, Bozdar, Nukharni, Magsi etc. These tribes are spread over Baluchistan, Sind and the south-western districts of the Punjab.

Yet a third stock of Sindhi population comprises of the descendants of Muslim conquerors, administrators and missionaries who were mostly Arabs, Persians, Turks or Mughals. They are a small minority settled in cities and towns but so deeply absorbed and blended with the other components of the population that all the three together have evolved a distinct language and culture. Of this third element Arabs have contributed most to the development of Sindhi language and literature and to the advancement of its intellectual and cultural activities.

Since the early history of Sind is intimately related to the history of the Punjab and other provinces of Pakistan it need not be dealt with at length. Only a brief account shall be attempted here, without mentioning the Indus Vally civilization which has already been discussed elsewhere.

Dawn of history reveals an Aryan dynasty in power in Sind. In the Mahabharata (12th or 13th century B.C.) Jayadrath, King of Sind appears as a partisan of Panduas against their cousins Kauruas. Next historical mention of Sind is found about 575 B.C. during the time of Achaemenian dynasty. The Iranian General, Skylax, explored Indus in a flotilla equipped near Peshawar, conquered the Indus Valley and annexed it to the Empire

4. *The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The Province of Sind*, edited By T.H. Sorley.

of Darius the Great. The conquered province of the Punjab and Sind was considered the richest and the most populous satrapy of the Empire and was required to pay the enormous tribute of fully a million sterling. Next historical record is that of Alexander's invasion in 326 B.C. A tribe called Mausikanos whose capital is usually identified with Alor (Rohri) is said to have submitted. According to Greek historians the territories of this chief were the most flourishing of all that the Greeks had seen. A few centuries later Roman historians have mentioned Sind as a rich country. Patala in lower Sind was known to them as an emporium of trade.

Alexandrian period was followed by that of the Mauryas (3rd century B.C.) whose fall brought in Graeco-Bactrians (2nd century B.C.). They ruled over the whole of Pakistan with their capital at Taxila. Their coins are still found in the old towns of Sind. The Graeco-Bactrian period was followed by that of the Scythian (Saka) invasion in the first century B.C. "They settled here in such large numbers that Sind became known as Indo-Scythia and to this day a large proportion of the population is certainly Scythian and not Aryan."[5] Two Scythian tribes, the Jats and Meds, are mentioned as having invaded the Punjab and Sind. Some of the present-day Mohanas of Sind and Baluchistan call themselves Med. "In 60 A.D. Sind was occupied by Scythians, ruled perhaps from far away Taxila."[6]

The first century A.D. witnessed the arrival of the Kushans who, along with the Scythians (Sakas) and later Parthians, ruled over Afghanistan and Pakistan for about four centuries from Peshawar. The next great holocaust occurred in the 5th century A.D. with the Hun invasion which surpassed all previous records in its intensity and vastness. Their invasion ushered in the Rajput era which lasted till the 7th century A.D. in Sind (80 years before the arrival of Mohd. Bin Qasim); till the end of 10th century A.D. in the Punjab and NWFP (upto the arrival of Mahmud Ghaznavi) and till the end of 12th century in northern India when Mohammad Ghori defeated Prithviraj in 1192 A.D.

Before Imaduddin Mohammad Bin Qasim's arrival here, Rajputs were the ruling race in Sind and in the rest of northern India. The last Rajput ruler of Sind was Raja Sahasi II whose dominions extended up to Kashmir. He was a contemporary of Prophet Mohammad and professed Buddhism as did his father Siharus. The rule of Raja Sahasi II ended in 632 A.D. the year Prophet Mohammad died. He was succeeded by his Brahmin chamberlain, Chach, who had become a favourite of Sahasi's wife. Chach ruled over

5. *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, compiled *By* E.H. Aitken.
6. *Ancient Trade in West Pakistan*, *By* Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Pakistan Quarterly, Vol. VII, No. L. 1957.

Sind for about 68 years from 632-700 A.D. His son Dahir was the ruler of Sind when Mohammad Bin Qasim arrived here in 711 A.D.

The line of rulership before Islam runs thus: Siharus, Sahasi II, Chach, Dahir. The first two were Buddhist Rajputs and the last two Hindu Brahmins. The new Brahmin rulers were extremely hostile towards the Buddhists who were in substantial numbers in Sind at that time and they had ruthlessly suppressed the Jats and Meds who formed the bulk of the peasantry. Humiliating conditions were imposed on the Jats depriving them of many civil rights. "When Chach, the Brahmin chamberlain who usurped the throne of Rajput King Sahasi II went to Brahmanabad, he enjoined upon the Jats and Lohanas not to carry swords, avoid velvet or silken cloth, ride horses without saddles and walk about bare-headed and bare-footed."[7] It was because of this background that Mohammad Bin Qasim received cooperation from the Buddhists as well as the Jats and Meds during his campaigns in Sind. Among others who did not oppose Mohammad Bin Qasim's advance and made peace with him was the Bhutto tribe.[8] In fact he was hailed as deliverer by several sections of local population. The humble position of the Buddhists in Sind seeking support from outside can be read in the Chach Namah.

"Mohammad Bin Qasim's work was facilitated by the treachery of certain Buddhist priests and renegade chiefs who deserted their sovereign and joined the invader. With the assistance of some of these traitors, Mohammad crossed the vast sheet of water separating his army from that of Dahir and gave battle to the Indian ruler near Raor (712 A.D.). Dahir was defeated and killed."[9]

THE JATS OF SIND

Before commencing a review of the Muslim period of Sind's history, we shall speak briefly of the Jats of Sind (Pakistan) who were known all over Iran and the Middle East for their sturdy constitution and industrious nature. They have a colourful history and an adventurous past.

The author of Mujmaul Tawarikh has quoted an extinct Sanskrit work according to which the original inhabitants of Sind were Jats and Meds. Early Arab writers on Sind also say that Jats and Meds were important tribes in their time. Ibn Khurdabah mentions 'zutts' as guarding the route between Kirman and Mansura while Ibn Haukal writes: "Between Mansura

7. *Sindhi Culture, By* U.T. Thakkur.
8. *Tareekh-e-Sind, By* Maulana Syed Abu Zafar Nadvi.
9. *An Advanced History of India, Part II, By* R.C. Majumdar, H.C. Roychandra and Kalikinkar Ditta.

and Makran the waters from the Mehran form lakes and the inhabitants of the country are the Indian races called Zutt. The Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang who visited this region in the 7th century A.D. also mentioned Jats.

"The Jats claim to be included in the 36 royal Rajput tribes. Some of them state that their forefathers came from Ghazni. But it is generally accepted that they are the descendants of the ancient Getae, or Jeutchi, from Scythia. Some authorities consider that they entered India some time in 1500 B.C. and are the same as the Jattikas mentioned in the Mahabharata, and also identical with the Jatti of Pliny and Ptolemy. Their original home was on the Oxus."[10] According to the Encyclopaedia of Islam, the Jats of the lower Indus comprise both Jats and Rajputs, and the same rule applies to Las-Bela where descendants of former ruling races like the Sumra and and Samma of Sind and the Langah of Multan are found. At the time of the first appearance of the Arabs they found the whole of Makran in possession of Jats (Zutts).

According to a 'Hadis', Hazrat Abdulla Bin Masood, a companion of the Prophet saw some strangers with the Prophet and said that their features and physique were like those of Jats.[11] This means that Jats were present in Arabia even during the Prophet's time. Hazrat Imam Bukhari (d. 875 A.D. — 256 A.H.) writing about the period of the Companions in his book "Al adab al Mufarrad" has stated that once when Hazrat Aisha (Prophet's wife) fell ill, her nephews brought a Jat doctor for her treatment. We hear of them next when the Arab armies clashed with the Persian forces which comprised of Jat soldiers as well. The Persian Commander Hurmuz used Jat soldiers against Khalid Bin Walid in the battle of 'salasal' of 634 A.D. (12 hijri). It is said that since the Jats used to fight by tying chains to their feet, this battle is called Harb-e-Salasal (battle of chains). This was the first time that Jats were captured by the Arabs. They put forward certain conditions for joining the Arab armies which were accepted, and on embracing Islam they were associated with different Arab tribes.[12] This event proves that the first group of Pakistanis to accept Islam were Jats who did it as early as 12 hijri (634 A.D.) in the time of Hazrat Omar.

The Persian King Yazdjard had also sought the help of the Sind ruler who sent Jat soldiers and elephants which were used against the Arabs in the battle of Qadisia.

10. *The Land of Five Rivers and Sind*, *By* David Ross (1883).
11. *Arab-o-Hind ke Tallukat*, *By* Sulaiman Nadvi.
12. *Tareekh-e-Sind*, Part I, *By* Ijazul Haq Quddusi, Markazi Urdu Board, Lahore.

According to Tibri, Hazrat Ali had employed Jats to guard Basra treasury during the battle of Jamal. "Jats were the guards of the Baitul Maal at al-Basra during the time of Hazrat Osman and Hazrat Ali."[13] Amir Muawiya had settled them on the Syrian border to fight against the Romans. It is said that 4,000 Jats of Sind joined Mohammad Bin Qasim's army and fought against Raja Dahir. Sindhi Jats henceforth began to be regularly recruited in the Muslim armies.

"Some of the Zutt deserters from the Persian army were transplanted in 670 A.D. by Caliph Muawiya from Basrah to Antioch. When the Arabs conquered Sind, another batch of Zutts whom the conquerors had uprooted from their native pastures seem to have been sent to Syria by Hajjaj (691-713 A.D.) and eventually sent on by the Caliph Walid I (707-15 A.D.) to join the previous batch of Zutt deportees at Antioch whence some, again, were sent on by the Caliph Yazid II (720-24 A.D.) to Massisah in Cilicia......But the bulk of Hajjaj's deportees from Sind seem to have been settled in Iraq. In the reign of Abbasid Caliph Mansur (813-33 A.D.) they broke into a rebellion which it took him and his successor Mutasim (833-42 A.D.), the best part of 20 years to quell......Whether there had or had not been a voluntary immigration as well as a compulsory deportation of Zutt to Iraq from Sind, we may take it that in the course of the first two centuries of Arab rule, manpower from western India (*i.e.*, Pakistan) had in one way or another been pouring into a south-western Asia that, on the eve of the Arab conquest, had been depopulated by the two last and most devastating of the Romano-Persian wars."[14]

This statement of Tonybee is revealing in that it shows the close relations Pakistan had with the Middle East. Sindhis began to settle in areas as far away as Iraq and Syria which were depopulated by wars between the Persians and the Romans.

The origin of European gypsies is also traced to Sindhi Jats. Harun-ur-Rashid had recruited Jats to reinforce Cilician fortress. When the Romans descended on Ayn Zarbah in 855 A.D. they carried off into East Roman territory the Jats together with their women, children and buffaloes. This detachment of the Jats was the advance guard of the gypsies of Europe.[15] They continued to pour into Europe in small batches at various stages subsequently.

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13. Dr. Mohammad Ishaque in Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. III, Part I.
14. *A Study of History*, Vol. VII, *By* Arnold J. Toynbee.
15. *Ibid.*

THE ARAB PERIOD

Turning to the history of Sind, it may be divided into seven periods: (1) Pre-Muslim; (2) Arab Rule; (3) Middle Ages from Mahmud Ghaznavi to the establishment of Mughal Rule; (4) Mughal Period; (5) Kalhora period; (6) The Talpur Period; and (7) The British Period. We shall deal with them briefly discussing only certain salient features of each period.

We have already spoken of the Indus Valley Civilization and the pre-historic period in an earlier chapter. Between the fall of the Mauryan Empire and the arrival of the Arabs *i.e.*, roughly 200 B.C. to 700 A.D., a span of 900 years, Sind and other parts of Pakistan experienced wave after wave of hordes from Central Asia settling down in these regions. The Bactrians, Sakas, Kushans, the Pahlavas and the Huns etc., came, conquered and settled here. From these stocks, mingled with indigenous blood, ultimately emerged the new Kshatrya ruling class of Hindus later called Rajputs and the peasant class of Jats and Gujjars.[16] The most outstanding aspect of this pre-Muslim period is that Sind was intimately connected with the rest of Pakistan and not with India. It had either independent kingdoms or kingdoms in common with Pakistan.

Several reasons are ascribed to the Arab desire to conquer Makran[17] and Sind. Firstly, Sindhi Rajas had helped the Persians in their wars against the Arabs. Sindhi forces participated in the battles of Nehawand, 'Salasal', Qadisia and Makran and fought against the Arabs. Secondly, when after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs some of their rebel chiefs began to seek refuge in Sind, its Raja refused to surrender them to the Caliphs in spite of repeated requests. Thirdly, since Arab traders were being constantly harassed by pirates from the Makran and Sind coasts, a foot-hold in these areas was considered necessary to safeguard Arab maritime interests.

The first naval expedition undertaken by the Arabs in this ocean was during Hazrat Omar's caliphate in 636 A.D. — 15 A.H. under the command of Osman bin Abi'Aas, the Governor of Bahrain and Oman. He attacked Thana, a port near modern Bombay. A little later he sent another naval expedition to Debal in Sind under the command of his brother Mughira. Raja Chach was the ruler of Sind at that time and his kingdom was well defended. Mughira was defeated by the Raja's forces and killed in action.

During Hazrat Omar's caliphate the Governor of Iraq also sent an expedition by land to Makran under the command of Rabi Bin Ziad Haris.

16. *Sind: A General Introduction, By* M.T. Lambrick.
17. A greater portion of the area now called Baluchistan was then known as Makran. The word Baluchistan came into vogue much later.

Though Makran was conquered but the victory was short-lived, as the locals recaptured the country. Makran was, however, permanently conquered during the last days of Hazrat Omar's caliphate in 642 A.D. — 43 A.H. under the command of Hakam Taglabi. Hazrat Osman, the third Caliph had sent Hakim bin Jabala to Sind in 650 A.D. to collect information. Before him Sahar-al-Abdi had visited Sind for the same purpose in 643 A.D. during Hazrat Omar's last days.[18] The next Arab general to enter Pakistan by land was Muhlib bin Sufra who came through the Khyber Pass in 665 A.D. — 65 A.H.

The real story, however, begins with Hajjaj Bin Yusuf who was Governor of Iraq. The story of Arab merchants returning from Ceylon to Basra having been looted by Sindhi pirates is well-known. It is related that some of the women who were being carried away by the pirates implored Hajjaj to rescue them.

Hajjaj took serious notice of the incident and wrote to Dahir, the ruler of Sind, for the release of captives as well as the goods which were being sent to the caliphate as presents by the ruler of Ceylon. Not receiving a favourable reply, Hajjaj, with the permission of Caliph Walid, sent a force to Debal under the command of Abdulla bin Nabhan. This force was annihilated by Dahir's army and its commander killed in battle. (According to Dr. Daud Pota the tomb of Abdullah Shah at Clifton in Karachi is of this General, Abdulla bin Nabhan).[19] Again, Hajjaj sent a bigger expedition to Debal, to oppose which Dahir sent his son Jaisia with a fairly large contingent. For the second time Arabs were defeated and their commander Badil bin Tuhfa killed in action at Debal. (According to the British historian Eliot, Karachi and the island of Manora constituted the city of Debal).

Hajjaj was infuriated and perturbed at the developments. Having realised that the ruler of Sind was a powerful monarch, he started making large-scale preparations and took personal interest in the matter since the issue had now become one of prestige. The selection of a commander for this expeditionary force had also to be made with due care keeping in view all the aspects of the problem. Hajjaj's choice fell on the young 20-year old (according to some 17) Mohammad Bin Qasim. The army and its Commander were given rigorous training for over one year in the desert of southern Iran which had similar climatic conditions to those of Sind. Through intelligence reports, all the strong and weak points of the enemy and details of their weapons and defences were collected, studied, and the

18. Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. III, Part I.
19. Tauzeehat-e-Tareekh-e-Masoomi.

Arab army equipped accordingly. Hajjaj bin Yusuf went through the minutest details and after thorough study of the maps of Sind, guided Mohammad Bin Qasim on the strategy to be followed. Not content with this, Hajjaj made arrangements to convey his messages and orders to Mohammad Bin Qasim from Basra to any point in Sind within a week. Orders were that Mohammad Bin Qasim should not attack any city or fort or engage his forces in any large-scale battle with the enemy without getting orders from Basra. Even instructions concerning the day and time of attack and weapons to be used in a particular place or battle were sent by Hajjaj.

This time Arab armies triumphed and the triumph proved permanent. I shall not go into details which are available in all histories and mention only a few points which have not been high-lighted.

MOHAMMAD BIN QASIM'S RULE

As mentioned elsewhere, Sind had a large Buddhist population at this time but the ruler, Dahir, was a Brahmin. It is said that the Buddhists of Sind had been receiving constant information from their co-religionists in Afghanistan and Turkistan about the extremely liberal treatment meted out to them by the Arab conquerors of those regions. In view of these reports, the Buddhist population of Sind decided to extend full cooperation to Mohammad Bin Qasim and even acclaimed him as liberator from the Brahmin tyranny. Several principalities in Sind were ruled by Buddhist Rajas. The Buddhist ruler of Nerun (Hyderabad) had secret correspondence with Mohammad Bin Qasim. Similarly, Bajhra and Kaka Kolak, Buddhist rajas of Sewastan, allied themselves with Mohammad Bin Qasim.[20] On similar grounds, Jats also joined the Arabs against Dahir.

Secondly, it is generally believed that Mohammad Bin Qasim conquered areas only up to Multan. No, he conquered almost the entire Pakistan which then formed part of the Kingdom of Sind. According to Chach Nama, after conquering Aror (near Rohri), Mohammad Bin Qasim advanced towards Bhatia, an old fort on Beas which was under the command of Chach's nephew. After conquering Bhatia the Arabs laid siege to Iskandla on River Ravi and took it. Chach Nama further states that Mohammad Bin Qasim proceeded to the boundary of Kashmir called Panj Mahiyat, at the upper course of Jhelum just after it debouches into the plains.[21] "With a force of 6,000 Mohammad Bin Qasim, a youth of 20, conquered and reorganised the whole of the country from the mouth of Indus to the borders of Kashmir, a distance of 800 miles in three years 712-15 A.D.[22]

20. *Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, By* Dr. I.H. Qureshi.
21. *Tareekh-e-Sind,* Part I, *By* Aijazul Haq Quddusi.
22. *The Making of India, By* Dr. Abdulla Yusuf Ali.

"Waihind (near Attock) which was one of the oldest cities of the sub-continent was included in the kingdom of Sind."[23] "Mohammad Bin Qasim made Multan the base for further inroads and garrisoned Bramhapur on the Jhelum, the modern Shorkot, Ajtabad and Karor; and afterwards with 50,000 men marched via Dipalpur to the foot of the Himalayas near Jhelum."[24]

It is recognised by all historians that Mohammad Bin Qasim's rule in Sind was most liberal and his treatment of non-Muslims extremely just and fair. He not only appointed Hindus to senior administrative posts but left small Hindu principalities undisturbed. Brahmins had become so loyal to him that they used to go from village to village and urge people to support the Arab regime. When Mohammad Bin Qasim was recalled from Sind by the Caliph in very unhappy circumstances, the Hindus and Buddhists of Sind wept over his departure; and when he died they erected a statue in his memory and worshipped it for a long time. Mohammad Bin Qasim's two sons had a distinguished career. Amroo became Governor of Sind and Qasim was Governor of Basra for fifteen years.[25]

But the early Arab period is not one of peace and tranquility. With the recall of Mohammad Bin Qasim the province returned to chaos and confusion. After a few years of anarchy Governor Junaid restored normalcy. A short while later, due to bad administration, chaos prevailed again. Arabs began to leave the province and converted Muslims returned to their old faith. Conditions were so critical that the next governor, Hakam bin Awanah established a new city called 'Mahfooza' (place of safety) in 732 A.D. — 113 A.H. where all the Muslims collected for safety. Later on, after restoring order and reorganising most of the Province, Hakam's general Amroo (the son of Mohammad Bin Qasim) built another city called 'Mansoora' (victory) near Shahdadpur in 737 A.D. — 119 A.H. which became the capital of the Arab kingdom. Because of these unsettled conditions Sind had to be conquered again and again.

"In Sind the recall of Mohammad Bin Qasim was followed by a Hindu reaction which almost wiped out the results of the first victories. When Hakam bin Awanah was appointed Governor of Sind, he found that the Indians had rebelled and apostasized. He built two cities, Mahfuzah and Mansurah in the north and south of Sind, to provide places of security for Muslims."[26]

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23. *Jannat-us-Sind, By* Maulai Shaidai.
24. Imperial Gazetteer of India.
25. Ibid.
26. *Indian Muslims, By* Prof. M. Mujeeb.

From the departure of Mohammad Bin Qasim in 715 A.D. to the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in 750 A.D., a period of 35 years, Sind had nine governors. They were Habib Bin Mohlab, Amro Bin Muslim Bahili, Bilal Bin Ahwaz, Junaid Bin Abdur Rehman Marri, Tamim Bin Zaid Atbi, Hakam Bin Awanah Qalbi, Amroo Bin Mohammad Bin Qasim, Yazid Bin Arrar and Mansur Bin Jamhur Qalbi. During this period "Governor Junaid again conquered all the territory up to Beas and Ravi in the north-east, Kashmir in the north, Arabian ocean in the south, Malwa in the south-east and Makran in the west."[27]

When Umayyad caliphate was replaced by that of the Abbasids in 750 A.D., Sind became part of the Abbasid dominions. It remained under Baghdad's control during the Abbasid Caliphs Saffa, Mansoor, Hadi, Haroon, Mamoon, Mutasim, Wasiq and Mutawakkil. In the reign of the last mentioned Caliph, the Governor of Sind, Umar Hibari, became practically independent owing nominal allegience to the Caliph. Earlier, during the caliphate of Mamoon-ur-Rashid, Sind Governor Bashar Ibn-e-Dawood had revolted and withheld the payment of revenues, but the revolt was quelled judiciously. It may be of interest to note that the postal and intelligence services of Sind were directly controlled by the Caliphs.

The man who governed Sind (then covering major portion of present-day Pakistan) for the longest period was Dawood bin Yazid bin Hatim Mahlabi who died in 821 A.D. Two members of the famous Baramaka family of Abbasid Prime Ministers ruled over Sind as Governors during this period. One was Musa Barmakh and the other his son Omar Barmakh. The Barmaka family were said to be originally Kashmiri Buddhists who had migrated to Balkh (now in northern Afghanistan) and after accepting Islam, went to Baghdad where several members of the family had a distinguished career. Two of them, Yahya and Jafar, became Prime Ministers of Haroon-ur-Rashid. (The word Barmakh is derived from the Sanskrit word 'par mukh' meaning sardar).

During the 105 years of Abbasid period when Sind formed part of their dominions (750-855 A.D.) thirty-one Governors were appointed. The Hibari dynasty which had become independent lasted from 855 A.D.—240 A.H. to 1010 A.D.—401 A.H. *i.e.,* till the annexation of Sind by Mahmud Ghaznavi. It was the last Arab government. One of its rulers Abdulla bin Omar Hibari (d. 893 A.D.) ruled for about 30 years and made great contribution to the cultural and economic development of the Province. It

27. *Tareekh-e-Sind,* Part I, *By* Aijazul Haq Quddusi.

was during the Hibari period that Sind severed its relations with the caliphate; and it was during this period that two separate states emerged in Sind: one had its capital at Mansura and the other at Multan. In addition, several small Hindu states had also sprung up. It was again during the Hibari rule that the Fatimid Caliph Obidullah-al-Mahdi sent the first Ismaili missionary, Haisham, to Sind.

MISSIONARY WORK

Sind being the eastern-most province of the Umayyad, and then of Abassid Caliphates with loose control from the centre, its political as well as religious life was highly perturbed. In the political field due to internecine quarrels, Muslim governments in the area were divided into two sections: The upper region had Multan as its capital and the capital of the lower region was Mansura near Shahdadpur. Sind also became an arena of religious acrimonies because of the large number of Ismaili missionaries who visited this country and the heretics who took refuge here. The first Ismaili missionary to visit Sind was Haisham who came to Sind in 877 A.D. — 270 A.H. He was sent by the founder of the Fatimid caliphate, Obaidullah-al-Mahdi. Among other prominent Ismaili missionaries to visit Sind were Hazrat Abdullah (1067 A.D.), Pir Sadruddin (1430 A.D.), his son Kabiruddin, his brother Tajuddin and Syed Yusufuddin, all of whom gained considerable following in Pakistan. Pir Sadruddin had his grand lodge in Sind and it was he who conferred on the new converts the title of Khwaja (Khoja), meaning honourable. According to Dr. Arnold a number of Ismaili missionaries were sent to Sind from the famous "Alamut" fort which was the headquarter of Hasan Bin Sabbah who lived in the late 11th and early 12th century A.D.[28] Abdullah-al-Ashtar Alvi, a great grandson of Hazrat Ali was among those who had religious differences with the Caliph, was considered a heretic and took refuge here. Because of sheltering him, the Governor of Sind, Omar bin Hafs was transferred to North Africa by the Caliph. Hazrat Abdullah Ashtar's tomb at Clifton on the sea-shore near Karachi is still visited by devotees.

A large number of Sunni missionaries also visited Sind during the Arab period. The Omayyed Caliph Hazrat Omar bin Abdul Aziz is said to have sent a number of them who were successful in converting several Sindhi landlords. The Abbasid Caliph Mahdi also sent some missionaries who converted a number of Rajas and prominent Hindus up to Peshawar. Mohammad Alfi who came with Mohammad Bin Qasim and was among

28. *The Preaching of Islam, By* Sir Thomas Arnold.

the most successful missionaries, later became adviser to the Raja of Kashmir and settled there.

As already stated, during the major portion of Arab rule, Sind and southern Punjab were rent by political as well as religious rivalries. Since every development in the Middle East had its direct impact on this region, the Fatimid-Abbasid political rivalry with its religious manifestation in the Ismaili-Sunni controversy, found its full echo here, particularly in the 10th century A.D. (early 4th century hijri). Ismaili, or according to some, Carmathian rulers were installed in the upper region whose capital was Multan. It is related that the Fatimid Caliph Imam Abdul Aziz Billah had sent a missionary Jalam bin Shaiban from Cairo to Multan with a sizeable army in 372 hijri (985 A.D.) to establish Ismaili rule which he did, and himself became head of the state. At this time the rulers of Makran and Mansura were also Ismailis. The Sumra family of Sind which had accepted Ismaili Islam owed allegience to the Fatimid Caliphs of Cairo, sent them presents and zakat and read their name in Friday 'Khutba'. After the fall of the Fatimids, Sindhi Ismailis attached themselves to the Mustali branch of the Ismailis who were functioning from Yemen. (Members of the 'Mustali' branch are called Bohris in the sub-continent). The history of this period is so confused that it is difficult to state with any certainty as to when and how long Ismaili and Carmathian rulers held sway at Mansura and Multan. There were frequent changes accompanied by enlargement or shrinkage of territories. Ferishta speaks of Shaikh Hamid Lodhi as the first ruler of Multan converted to Carmathian faith. Haig says that Multan was seized by Abdullah, the Carmathian, about 287 hijri (900 A.D.). Ibn-e-Haukal visited Multan in 367 hijri but does not mention the Ismailis and says that the rulers of Multan and Mansura recognised the authority of Baghdad. Al Maqdasi visited Multan in 375 hijri and wrote that the people of Multan were Shias, presents were sent to the Fatimids of Egypt and Ismailis were daily claiming an increasing number of converts. Al Beruni writing about 424 hijri says "the rise of the Carmathians preceded our time by almost 100 years *i.e.,* in 324 hijri." Whatever the fortunes of the rulers, there is some ground to believe that Ismaili form of Shiaism continued to be dominant in Sind and southern Punjab for a considerable time.

"Propaganda under the Fatimid 'Dawat' in India is traced back to the time of Fatimid Caliph al Mustansir. Ismailis had indeed been sent to India at a much earlier date. Their field of labour was in Sind, in a district of Multan. Their chief dai was in correspondence with Caliph Muizz (953) and the community had not only increased in numbers, but it had attained

power in Multan during his Imamate. The community recognised the Fatimids as Imams but the initiative in Sind may have been taken by the Carmathians. Later history links Multan and Sind with the Nizarian dawat."[29]

"Ivanow describes the Ismaili population in India as the most ancient and interesting. Sons of Mohammad Ibn Ismail had sought refuge in Qandahar, then a part of Sind. Sind early became a dist. or Jazira, of the Ismaili 'dawat'. During the Imamats of Al Muizz (953) its chief dai was in direct communication with the Imam."[30]

SIND'S PROGRESS UNDER ARABS

However, in spite of political chaos and religious confusion, Sind made great progress in the literary and economic fields during this period. Sindhi scholars and doctors made a mark not only in their own country but in the entire Muslim world. Mathematicians and philosophers from Sind visited Baghdad in large numbers and made outstanding contribution to the promotion of learning among the Arabs. Several physicians were called from Sind for the treatment of Caliphs among whom were Ganga and Manka who treated Haroon-ur-Rashid. The latter was a member of the Bait-ul-Hikmat of Haroon-ur-Rashid. Another Sindhi doctor who made a mark in the Muslim world was a newly converted Muslim, Saleh Bin Bahla (Bhalla).

Among the notable Sindhi ulema were: Maulana Islami who hailed from Debal, accepted Islam during Mohammad Bin Qasim's days and was sent by him as envoy to Raja Dahir for negotiations. Abu Maashar Sindhi was Muslim world's noted scholar of 'seerat' and 'fiqh'. He lived at Medina for a number of years and later shifted to Baghdad where he died. He was so much respected that on his death Caliph Mehdi led the funeral prayers. His son Abu Abdul Malik was also an eminent scholar and had settled down in Baghdad. Hafiz Abu Mohammad Khalaf bin Saalem who was a 'hadees' scholar had migrated from Sind to Iraq where he attained fame. Abu Nasr Fateh Bin Abdulla Sindhi was known for his proficiency in 'hadees', 'fiqh' and Ilm-e-Kalaam. He wrote 'Tafseer' in Sindhi and rendered Islamic teachings in such beautiful and forceful Sindhi verse that it gained immense popularity both among Hindus and Muslims. Another 'aalim', Ishaque Sindhi, was among the most revered muftis of the Abbasid period. Imam Auzai of Sind was considered an authority on religion in the

29. *Shias of India, By* John Norman Hollister.
30. Ibid.

Muslim world. Mohammad bin Ali Shwarib, the Qazi of Mansura and his son Ali bin Mohammad bin Ali Shwarib were also renowned scholars.

Among the Sindhis who earned eminence in the Muslim world as Arabic poets during this period were Abul Ata Sindhi, Haroon bin Abdulla Multani, Abu Mohammad Mansuri who hailed from Mansura, Mansoor Hindi, Musa bin Yakub, Saqafi, Abu Zila Sindhi, Kashajam bin Sindhi bin Shahak etc. Sindhi bin Sadqa was a 'Katib', a writer as well as a poet. Some of them wrote in Sindhi as well as in Arabic. It is said that at the request of a Sindhi Raja, Mahrook, who had embraced Islam, the Quran was translated into Sindhi during the reign of Abdulla bin Omar Hibari. Due to the patronage extended by early Abbasid Caliphs and their Baramaka Prime Ministers, a number of Sindhi Pandits and Veds went to Baghdad and engaged themselves in scientific and literary pursuits. They translated a large number of Sanskrit books on mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, literature and ethics into Arabic. Prominent among them were Bhalla, Manka, Bazeegar (Bajaikar), Falbar Ful (Kalap Rai Kal), Ibne Dahan, Saleh Bin Bhalla, Bakhar, Raja, Makka, Daher, Anko, Arikal, Andi, Jabbhar, etc. Some of these Pandits taught the Arabs, numerals.[31]

In about 780 A.D. — 154 A.H. when a deputation of Sindhi Pandits visited Baghdad, they carried with them a Sanskrit work known as 'Siddhanat' which, after translation in Arabic, became known as Al-Sindh-Hind.

Sindhi accountants were also popular in the Arab world. According to Jahez (d. 874 A.D. — 255 A.H.) all the 'Sarrafs' (money-changers) in Iraq had Sindhi treasurers. They were proficient in accounting and exchange business and were also honest and loyal servants.

The Arab rulers of Sind-Multan were extremely liberal, spoke Sindhi and treated their subjects well. They never encroached upon the religious liberties of the Hindus and Buddhists and appointed them to positions of responsibility. Mohammad Bin Qasim had appointed Sisakar, the Prime Minister of Raja Dahir, his own Prime Minister, and Kiska, another Hindu, his Revenue Minister. The entire history of Sind under the Arabs is replete with instances of Hindus holding positions of great responsibility and honour. Three per cent of the country's revenues were given to Brahmins as stipends. When some of the district administrators informed the Government that they were experiencing shortage of cows and bulls which were needed for agricuiture and transport, Government prohibited cow slaughter.

In the economic field also Sind made considerable progress. Agriculture received great impetus with foodgrains being exported to the

31. *Arab-o-Hind ke Tallukat, By* Syed Sulaiman Nadvi.

Middle East. A number of new varieties of fruits were cultivated among which the bananas of Sind were extremely popular in the neighbouring countries. Camphor, neel, banana, coconut, dates, sugarcane, lemon, mangoes, almonds, nuts, wheat and rice are mentioned by almost all visitors as grown in plenty in Sind. Bishari Maqdasi writes that there were innumerable gardens in Sind and the trees were tall and luxuriant. The whole city of Mansura was covered with almond and nut trees.

The cities established by the Arabs "flourished as great centres of trade and learning. A busy trade grew up and the merchants of different nationalities carried Indian goods through Sind to Turkistan and Khurasan and imported horses into Sind."[32] Debal, Nairun Kot, Sehwan, Khuzdar, Aror, Multan and Mansura were flourishing commercial centres. Arabs had more trade with this country than with Gujrat, Malabar and Bengal. A large proportion of merchandise was transported from the Punjab by rivers. 700-800 maunds of goods were sewn in jute cloth, put in leather bags oiled from outside to prevent water penetrating and put in the rivers.[33]

"On account of their favourable geographical position the ports of Sind played a vital role, even before the Arab invasion, in the commercial intercourse between the countries to the west (Iran, South Arabia, Ethiopia) and to the east of the Indus delta, as well as in the export of commodities manufactured in Sind itself. This role gained momentum after Islam had reached Sind. The author of Hudud al'Alam mentions that there were plenty of merchants in Sind, stressing that many a citizen of the coastal areas were engaged in sea trade. The cities of Daibul and Mansura were major trade centres of Lower Sind at the turn of the first and second millennia. In the first centuries of the second millennium, Thatta came in the fore as another major economic and political centre of the country: in the opinion of some scholars, the city in its prime had a population of 280,000."[34]

Leather and leather goods industry also made great progress during this period. The coloured and soft leather of Sind was known all over the world markets as Al-Sindhi. According to 'Muruj-uz-Zahab', the shoes of Mansura were very popular in Iran and the Arab world. Imam Hanbal relates that a large number of shoes were imported from Mansura into Baghdad where they were in great demand among the royal family and the gentry. But, he remarks, they were very showy.

Arabs also took keen interest in animal husbandry. They improved several breeds of camels, horses, cows, bulls and buffaloes. Sindhi buffaloes

32. *Sindhi Culture, By* U.T. Thakur.
33. *Tareekh-e-Sind, By* Maulana Abu Zafar Nadvi.
34. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By.* Yu. V. Gankovsky.

were so popular that Arabs used to carry them to their home towns when returning from Sind.

Building of cities and construction of roads and houses was a hobby with the Arabs. They built several new cities such as Mahfooza (in 732 A.D.), Mansura (737 A.D.), Baiza (835 A.D.), Jundrore near Multan (in 854 A.D.) and several others. They also improved and expanded the existing cities by constructing satellite towns. A bridge called "Sukkar-al-Maid" was built over the Indus near Sukkur.

A number of Arab tribes of Quraish, Kalb, Tameem, Saqeef, Harris, Aal-e-Utba, Aal-e-Jareema and Asad, and several prominent families of Yemen and Hejaz had settled in Sind. Masudi (915 A.D. — 302 A.H.) writes that he met many descendants of Hazrat Ali in Mansura who were in the line of Omar bin Ali and Mohammad Bin Ali. He also mentions that there was fertility and opulence here and people were healthy. Some authorities have expressed the view that the wife of Hazrat Imam Hussain, who was the mother of Hazrat Imam Zainul Abdin from whom the line of Hussaini Syeds is traced, was not a Persian as is generally believed, but a Sindhi lady of a noble family."[35]

Bishari writes that the people of Multan were prosperous, they did not drink wine and their women did not use cosmetics. Both Arabic and Sindhi were spoken. Regarding Mansura he states that the people were very well-read, courteous and religious. The city had a large number of scholars and the general standard of morals and intelligence was high. Mansura remained the capital of Sind from 737 A.D. — 120 A.H. to 1026 A.D. — 416 A.H. for about 300 years till its conquest by Mahmud Ghaznavi. In late 3rd century Hijri when Multan became the capital of the northern kingdom, Mansura remained the capital of only the southern region *i.e.,* modern Sind. It survived till the Tughlaq period in the 14th century A.D. when it disappeared due to change in the course of River Indus.

As during the time of Darius when Sind constituted the 20th Satrapy of the Achaemenian Empire and considered an extremely rich province, so also during the Arab rule Sind was regarded a prosperous part of the Caliphate and paid a million dirham per annum as revenue to the Government at Baghdad.

GHAZNAVID PERIOD IN SIND

With the conquest of Pakistan by Mahmud Ghaznavi (1000 —

35. *Arab-o-Hind ke Tallukat, By* Syed Sulaiman Nadvi.

1030 A.D.) Arab rule came to an end in Sind and also the first chapter of its Muslim period. It is believed that about half a century before Mahmud appeared on the scene, Ismailis had become the rulers of both the Arab Kingdoms of Multan and Mansura. No Muslim historian gives a definite date or year of the actual take-over by the Ismailis and the circumstances under which it occurred, as stated earlier. However, what made Mahmud destroy the two dynasties was the constant support the Amir of Multan gave to Jaipal and his son Anandpal, rulers of northern Punjab and northern Afghan territories, against him, and the inimical attitude adopted by the Amir of Mansura towards his forces when they entered Sind chasing the Raja of Gujrat. When having been defeated several times by Mahmud Ghaznavi, Raja Anandpal led a united force of the Rajas of northern India to meet him at Peshawar in 1008 A.D. — 399 A.H., the ruler of Multan, Amir Shaikh Abul Fath also took part in the battle as a confederate of Anandpal. But the entire confederacy was defeated. Again, in 1025 A.D.— 416 A.H. when Mahmud Ghaznavi reached the Indus in pursuit of the Raja of Gujrat, the Ismaili ruler of Mansura incited the Jats and Meds to attack Mahmud's forces which suffered considerable losses.

These two incidents were serious enough to bring the wrath of any conqueror. Still, Mahmud Ghaznavi was extremely considerate and did not take any punitive action against them for several years. He annexed Multan as late as 1026 A.D. and next year sent his Wazir, Abdur Razzak to conquer Sind. After the defeat of the Ismaili rulers of Mansura, Sind was also annexed to the Ghaznavid Kingdom, their collaborators were driven out and new officers from among the Arabs were appointed to administer the province. It is believed that since Mahmud Ghaznavi was quite harsh with the Ismailis, henceforth their creed began to lose ground in Multan and Sind and the number of their adherents began to diminish; several families adopted Sunni faith and many left the country. But still, strong pockets remained in some places.

When about a century and a half later Ghaznavid rule in Pakistan became weak and ineffective, Ismailis again asserted themselves and became *de facto* rulers in Multan and Sind. Mohammad Ghori, who replaced Ghaznavid rule in Pakistan in about 1187 A.D., also adopted the policy of breaking Ismaili power and influence. Qutbuddin Aibak was sent to conquer Sind which he did in three months and the Ismailis were again heavily punished. After the Ghorid period, Ismailis could never muster their strength nor reassert themselves in Pakistan. They met a similar fate about the same time in Iran at the hands of the Saljuqi Turks, while their (Fatimid) caliphate

in Cairo was eliminated by Sultan Salahuddin Ayubi in 1187 A.D. Finally, when their last stronghold in Alburz mountains in northern Iran was destroyed by Hulagu Khan's forces in the middle of the 13th century A.D., Ismailis ceased to count in the political life of Islam. Henceforth they concentrated on business.

With the conquest of Multan and Mansura by Mahmud Ghaznavi in 1026 A.D., these areas again were united with the Punjab and N.W.F.P. and the entire Pakistan came under Ghaznavid rule. It may be recalled that previously also both in the pre-Arab and during most of the Arab period, Pakistan was under one government. But some time after the establishment of the Hibari dynasty which had severed its relations with the caliphate, two independent states emerged, one had its capital at Multan and the other at Mansura. This happened about 871 A.D. and the pattern lasted for about one and a half centuries till the establishment of the Ghaznavid rule in 1026 A.D.

NAASERUDDIN QUBACHA

Details of the Ghaznavid period are not available. However, the bright period of Sind's history revived after the arrival of the Ghorids when Naaseruddin Qubacha was appointed governor of Multan and Sind. The period of governorship as well as of independent rule by Qubacha was one of great development for Pakistan. When Shamsuddin Altamash succeeded Qutbuddin Aibak as ruler at Delhi in 1210 A.D. — 607 A.H., Naaseruddin Qubacha, the governor of Multan and Sind, declared independence and ruled in that capacity for about two decades with his capital at Uch (in Bahawalpur).

During this period the northern route into India from Khyber, Peshawar, Jhelum and Lahore was infested with the Ghakkars who were in constant rebellion There were also frequent Mongol attacks on this front during this period. This proved a blessing for the southern areas of Pakistan. Trade from Iran, Afghanistan and Turkistan was diverted through the southern route of Qandahar, Multan, Sind, Bahawalpur and on towards Delhi, bringing in considerable prosperity. Similarly, all the great scholars, poets and missionaries who came in large numbers during this period either passed through Multan, Sehwan and Uch or settled down in these areas.

Several histories were written during Qubacha's reign. Ali Bin Hamed Koofi translated an Arabic work "Minhaj-ul-Masalik" (Fateh-us-Sind) into Persian in 1216 A.D. — 613 A.H. and named it 'Chach Nama'. This is the first Islamic history of Sind in which one finds details of Arab conquest.

Minhaj-us-Siraj wrote his famous history "Tabaqat-e-Naaseri" which gives a detailed account of Naaseruddin Qubacha's reign. Syed Badruddin Aufi produced 'Labubul Albab" containing the literary activities of the Ghaznavid period while Naaseruddin Mohammad Aufi wrote "Jame-al-Hikayaat", a work of great merit.

Shamsuddin Altamash did not disturb Naaseruddin Qubacha as long as Mongol threat was imminent. But once it subsided with the return of Jalaluddin Khwarizm Shah and his pursuer Changez Khan, Altamash attacked Sind. In the ensuing battle Qubacha was killed and Sind, Multan and Bahawalpur were annexed to the Delhi Sultanate in 1227 A.D.

Next begins the period under the slave dynasty of Delhi when the capital of Sind was shifted from Uch to Bhakkar. The most happy, though short-lived span for Sind under this dynasty was the governorship of Prince Mohammad, son of Ghyasuddin Balban. During this decade there was again an eruption of Mongol activity on the frontiers of Northern Punjab, resulting in diversion of trade through Multan and Sind. Since Mongols had run over the entire land route of Central Asia and Iran by this time, Sind's maritime trade also received great impetus. Following this development Sindhi businessmen spread from Granada in Spain to Canton in China.

Prince Mohammad was among the most brilliant and cultured persons ever born in a royal family. Himself learned and pious, he had great respect for ulema and sufis. He zealously encouraged education and set up a large number of educational institutions at Bhakkar and Sehwan. Ibn-e-Batuta who visited the sub-continent during this time says that he met a number of ulema from Shiraz, Baghdad and Egypt at both Bhakkar and Sehwan.

Prince Mohammad made Multan the capital of Sind and Punjab and also the focal point from which defence operations were conducted against the Mongol inroads. It was during Prince Mohammad's governorship that most of the great sufis now buried in Pakistan migrated to these areas and settled down at different places. Among them were Hazrat Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria (Multan), Hazrat Fareeduddin Masud Ganj Shakar (Pak Pattan), Hazrat Shaikh Osman Marwandi Lal Shah Baz Qalander (Sehwan), Hazrat Amir Hasan Sanjari etc. The great sufi poet Hazrat Amir Khusro had also settled down in Multan but returned to India after Prince Mohammad's death. In one of the several battles fought by him against the Mongols, this young Prince was killed near Multan. It was a great loss to the empire, to the sufis and to the cause of Islam in this sub-continent. Amir Khusro, who was accompanying the Prince in this battle, is said to

have been captured by the Mongols and released after considerable effort. Multan city was saved from being ravaged on the intervention of Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria.

It is believed that during the rule of the Delhi Sultanate, some time in the 13th century, Multan and Uch (Bahawalpur) were separated from Sind, joined with the Punjab and put under a strong Warden of Marches to prevent the incessant ravages of the Mongols. The defence strategy of Multan-Lahore front had to be planned on a different line from that of Bhakkar-Sehwan-Thatta region. The southern areas of Pakistan which were comparatively peaceful, were put under a separate Governor, ultimately leading to the present provincial boundaries of Sind.[36] This practice continued uninterrupted. In 1296 Jalaluddin Khilji put Multan and Uch under his son Askoli Khan and appointed a separate Governor, Nusrat Khan, for Sind with Headquarters at Sehwan. Though Sind was constituted into a separate province, the hold of Delhi became more firm, particularly during the reign of Alauddin Khilji.

But, from the commencement of the Tughlaq period in 1321 A.D. to its annexation by Akbar the great in about 1591 A.D. for a period of 270 years, Sind enjoyed *de facto* independence. The first local tribe to declare independence was the Sumras or Sumros who were then concentrated around Thatta and were already ruling over this area since the middle of the 11th century A.D. during the Ghaznavid period. When the Ghaznavid hold weakened, Sumros had extended their dominions in the north to include Multan.

THE SUMRAS AND THE SAMMAS

Mohammad bin Tughlaq, in pursuit of some rebels, died near Thatta before conquering the town. His successor Firoz Tughlaq also could not succeed in wresting the town from the Sumras and went back frustrated. Sindhis attributed their success to the blessings of a saint, Shaikh Pittha. On this occasion a saying expressed in Urdu, became very popular among the local people. This is considered the first Urdu prose sentence known in the early literature of this province. This saying was "Barkat Shaikh Pittha, aek mova aek nittha" برکت شیخ پٹھا ایک موا ایک نٹھا which means that due to the blessings of Shaikh Pittha, one (Mohammad bin Tughlaq) died and one (Firoz Tughlaq) went back unsuccessful. When Firoz Tughlaq returned next year to conquer Thatta, a settlement was arrived at with the Sumras on the intervention of Hazrat Jalal Bukhari of Uch Shareef.

36. *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, Edited By E.H. Aitken.

Thus the Sumras continued to rule the country, extending only formal allegiance to Delhi.

In the 14th century A.D. a certain person, Bhutto, who was a descendant of the Sumra ruler Doda, had become extremely popular and was installed as ruler by the people. His reign lasted 30 years. Both "Tuhfatul Karim" and "Daulat-e-Alia" make mention of his benign and popular rule—the latter giving his full name as Sirajuddin Fateh Khan Bhutto.[37]

Here, a few words about Sumras. As already stated in the beginning of this chapter, this tribe is considered a branch of the Parmar Rajputs. Mir Tahir in his book "Tareekh-e-Taheri" has stated that the Sumras were a Hindu tribe professing Hindu religion. Dr. Nabi Bakh is also of the view that the Sumras were old inhabitants of Sind professing either Hinduism or Buddhism. He says that after Mohammad bin Qasim's conquest of Sind the Samma, Saheta and Lohana tribes of Hindus accepted Islam and the Sumras also, long before they became rulers of Sind, had embraced Islam. In the Sind Gazetteer, Mr. E.H. Aitken states: "it is generally agreed that the Sumras were a Rajput tribe and the names of their first rulers Sumra, Doda, Sanghar, Bhangar betray their extraction." These writers also point out the Indian origin of the name Sumra which they say, is composed of two parts: Som and Rai. The former meaning moon and the latter ruler.

But, most of the Sumras do not agree with this view. They connect their origin with the Sumereans of the Middle East and the Samri of the Beni Israel. Even if it is true, the tribe must have settled in Sind long before Arab arrival. They had first accepted the Ismaili creed and adopted Sunni faith at a much later date.

The next tribe to emerge into power in Sind were the Sammas or Sammos who ruled from the middle of the 14th century A.D. to early 16th century, for a little over 170 years. They replaced Sumras during the reign of Firoz Tughlaq. According to the author of Chach Nama, the Sammas are old inhabitants of Sind and when Mohammad bin Qasim entered their region, they greeted him warmly giving a performance of folk music and dance. The Sammas were a larger tribe than the Sumras and extended their dominions all over Sind. Their first four rulers were Unar, Juna, Mani and Tamachi and had their capital at Thatta. They used the word Jaam before their names which, according to some authors, is derived from the Persian word Jamshed. After Taimur's invasion of India in 1398 A.D. and the consequent weakening of the Delhi government, they

37. *Tareekh-e-Sind, By* Maulana Abu Zafar Nadvi and *Tareekh-e-Sind, By* Aijazul Haq Quddusi.

became powerful. Their rule lasted from 1351 A.D. to 1521 A.D. Their ruler Jam Nizamuddin Alias Jam Nindo founded Thatta in 1495 A.D. — 900 A.H.

Since the foundation of this city was laid at the foot of the Makli Hills, it was called (Tahet) Taeh Taeh *i.e.,* below, and in the course of time began to be pronounced Taheta, and then Thatta. Regarding the name Makli, it is related that a saint on his way to Mecca incidentally stayed on this hill. He was so captivated by the beauty of this place that he fell in a trance and began to shout in Arabic "haza Makka li; haza Makka li" *i.e.,* this is Mecca for me. The saint's words began to be pronounced Makli by the people by which name it continues to be known to this day. Today the importance of this place rests on the fact that it is considered the biggest cemetery of the world. From the Sammas, Arghun and Tarkhan rulers and members of their families, down to the governors of Mughal period and all the men of importance who died at Thatta during a span of 600-700 years are buried on the Makli Hills. "Ten miles west of Thatta near the village of Gujro in Mirpur Sakro Taluka is the tomb of one Abu Turab which bears the date 191 Hijri (788 A.D.) and must be the oldest historical record of any kind in Sind. Abu Turab took the important fortress of Bhakkar and is known for other deeds of valour."[38]

The Samma rule was one of great prosperity and advancement in every field of life. Trade, industry, art and education made tremendous progress and Thatta, the capital, became one of the leading cities of Asia. With Jam Nizamuddin's patronage of poets, ulemas and men of literature, a large number of learned persons from all over the Muslim world gathered here. At one time Thatta city had about 300 educational institutions and was classed with Cordova and Baghdad. Because of the devotion of its people to religion and their piety, Sind was called "Little Arabia" and "Bab-ul Islam" of the sub-continent. "It was during the days of the Sammas and their successors the Arghuns and the Turkhans that Thatta, being the capital, became the opulent and magnificent chief city of Sind."[39]

A word about the origin of Sammas. They are the chief of the group of Sindhi tribes called Sammat and are believed to be a branch of the Jadava Rajputs and were probably the same tribe who were known to Alexander as Sambos. Samma Nagar on the Indus was their ancient capital and is probably represented by modern Sehwan. When they seized authority in the 14th century, their first capital was Samui, a few miles north of Thatta.

38. *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind,* compiled *By* E.H. Aitken—1907.

39. *Gazetter of West Pakistan Province of Sind.*

The 1931 Bombay Presidency Census says that: "The name Samma is used specifically (1) for a particular tribe; (2) the dynasty from that tribe which once governed lower Sind and built Samui and Thatta; and (3) that now-a-days it is used chiefly in the form Sammat, comprising seventy-five per cent of the specifically Sindhi tribes, now known to have come from the Punjab and be not of Baluch, or Arab, or Pathan origin. It is highly unlikely that all these were ever really sub-sections of the Sammo tribe. Some are clearly sections of Rajput clans; probably the Samma too were of Rajput origin, or status, though perhaps not pure. Sammo tribes may be considered generally to have been the followers and supporters of the Sammo dynasty, and probably of equal status and similar origin. Even the Sammo are sometimes said to be Sammat. The Chach Nama mentions Sammo, Jat, Lakho and Lohano as pre-Arab tribes in the Indus Valley of nomadic and barbarous habits who were crushed by Chach, the Brahmin King of Alor. At present the Samma, calling themselves such, are almost all in east and lower Sind region and also in Bahawalpur. They occur only sparingly in the upper Sind tract."

THE ARGHANS AND THE TURKHANS

With the arrival of Baber on the Indian scene the whole complexion of this sub-continent changed. Sind was the first to be affected. When Baber commenced his operations from Kabul southward capturing Qandahar in 1521 A.D., the ruler of that city, Shah Beg Arghun escaped and came over to Sind to try his fortunes here. He succeeded in capturing the province from the now declining dynasty of Sammas. But the Arghun rule lasted hardly 33 years with only two rulers, Shah Beg Mirza and his son Mirza Shah Hussain. Two incidents are of particular importance during this brief period. Mirza Shah Beg is said to have ordered the general slaughter of Baluchi tribes who had started spreading over Sind during Samma period and were creating unrest; while it was during the reign of his son Mirza Shah Hussain that Humayun passed through Sind on his way to Iran and a son (Akbar) was born to him at Umarkot in 1542 A.D.

The Arghuns were succeeded by a family of their nobles called Turkhans who were also of the same origin. Turkhans ruled for only 37 years from 1554-1591 A.D. When Akbar conquered Sind, Turkhans were not displaced but appointed governors of this newly annexed province of the Mughal Empire. Even otherwise both the Arghuns and Turkhans had recognized Delhi's sovereignty during Baber's and Humayun's reigns. However, under both the dynasties Sind was fairly well ruled and was

comparatively free from internal dissensions. One of the Turkhan rulers Shah Beg was a brave, bold and generous person.

After annexing Sind, Akbar incorporated it in the province of Multan and left the Turkhan ruler Mirza Jani Beg in charge of the Thatta region. Mughal rule lasted 148 years from 1591 A.D. to 1739 A.D. when Sind was annexed by the Persian ruler Nadir Shah. After the death of Mirza Jani Beg till the end of Mughal period Sind had 40 Governors. Mughal period, however, was not very eventful. Sind was one of the outlying provinces of the Empire hardly receiving any special attention. Since Shah Jehan had taken refuge at Thatta when he rebelled against his father, he built a Jame-Masjid in the town. During the early years of Aurangzeb's reign, Daudpotas asserted themselves, established their rule over a part of Sind and set up their capital at Shikarpur which they founded after cleaning thick forests where 'shikar' was played.

THE KALHORAS AND TALPURS

As a result of Nadir Shah's attack on India in 1739 A.D. and subsequently of Ahmed Shah Abdali in the fifties of the same century, Central rule weakened. Though Sind was annexed to Nadir Shah's empire, his rule was short-lived and his control over this province feeble. Again local forces asserted themselves and a branch of the Daudpotas known as Kalhoras rose to power in parts of Sind. Their most powerful ruler was Nur Mohammad Kalhora. Another ruler of this line Ghulam Shah Kalhora founded the city of Hyderabad in 1768 A.D. on the left bank of Indus where there had been an ancient town of the name of Nerun.

As a ruling house the Kalhora may be said to date from 1736, but members of the tribe had been prominent in Sind affairs at least half a century before that date. There is no adequate history of the Kalhoras. The best account of them was written by Nathan Grove, an Englishman, in 1799 who knew by personal experience conditions in Sind at the end of the eighteenth century. The chief stages in the life of Kalhora power may be briefly summarised. There are five such stages: First, the acceptance by the Mughal Emperor of members of the Kalhoro tribe as Viceroys or Governors in Sind, a period which began in 1701 during the last days of Aurangzeb.

Yar Mohammad Kalhora may be regarded as the real founder of the Kalhora dynasty. About 1701, Yar Muhammad succeeded in wresting Shikarpur from the Daudpotas, a weaver tribe who had founded it in 1616 after a conflict with the numerous tribe of Mahars then powerful in

Upper Sind. Yar Muhammad made Shikarpur his court and obtained from Aurangzeb a grant of the tract between the Indus and the Nara and the right to call himself Khudayar Khan.

Second, the extension and consolidation of the local power of the Kalhora Governors. Delhi had, by 1736 recognised them as semi-independent rulers of the country. Third, after the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, the transfer of political sovereignty over Sind from the Mughal Empire to the Persian Kingdom, which resulted in the Kalhora becoming subordinate to the Persian monarch and liable to pay tribute to him. Fourth, about 1747 the transference of this sovereignty from the Persian King to the Durrani Kingdom of Afghanistan, by which change the Kalhoras became feudatories of Kabul and had to pay tribute to that power. Fifth, the struggle between Kalhoras and Talpurs which began in 1778 and lasted more or less continuously till the end of the century — a period of civil war in which the Talpurs (themselves of Baluch origin), with the aid of the Baluchis then settled in Sind in considerable numbers, were at last able to destroy the failing powers of the Sindhi ruling family. But throughout the whole period from 1737 onwards the Kalhoras were never actually full masters in their own house.

The date usually accepted by historians as the end of the Kalhora regime is 1783 when the Afghan King, Timur Shah settled the indecisive Talpur—Kalhora tussle by sending Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur a robe of honour, some Arab horses and a 'sanad' appointing him ruler of Sind. As such, the rule of the Talpurs may be reckoned from 1783 A.D.

The government of the Talpur Mirs, which began in inauspicious circumstances ended sixty years later after the battles of Miani and Daubo in 1843, when the victories of Napier led to the annexfition of Sind by the British. Thus the Talpurs ruled over Sind for only 60 years. An important event of their rule is that in 1795 Talpur Mirs recovered Karachi which had been ceded to the Khan of Kalat by a Kalhora ruler in compensation for the death of a member of the Kalat ruling family.[40]

From the middle of the 18th century A.D. till the inception of Pakistan in the middle of the 20th century A.D. for a period of two hundred years which covers the Kalhora (partly), Talpur and British rules, Sind had the most painful period of its history. Internally, the struggle between the Kalhoras and Talpurs for power consumed the energies of the people and wrought havoc with life and property. With the final victory of the Talpurs, Sind was divided into small principalities and exposed to attacks

40. *West Pakistan Gazetteer, By* T.H. Sorley.

from outside. The refusal by the Talpurs to pay tribute to the Durrani Kings caused frequent incursions of Afghan troops, some of which were devastating to Sind's economy. "In this country which would seldom have the like in India in vastness, size and population, not a single human dwelling was left."[41] Productive forces diminished to an alarming extent undermining the entire economic life of the province. Most of the flourishing cities were ruined. The population of Thatta which was 300,000 at one time declined to 20,000 in 1809 and 7,000 in 1851 A.D.[42] Sukkur was almost desolated; Shikarpur which was northern Sind's largest trade centre was nearly deserted; Karachi's income went down from Rs. 616,000 in 1793 to Rs. 99,999 in 1808.[43]

Agriculture met a similar fate. Because of incessant forays and anarchy, and exploitation by zamindars, the cultivated area was almost halved in half a century and both revenue and profits from agricultural lands were seriously reduced. Added to this was the crushing burden of paying Rs. 15 lacs annually to the Durranis of Afghanistan as tribute.

The one class of people who benefited during this period of general decline in Sind were the Hindu merchants. They first amassed wealth by financing the military campaigns of Afghan rulers in the province and by obtaining supply contracts for their army; and then by engaging themselves in foreign trade. Thus, while Sindhi Muslims were gradually impoverished, Sindhi Hindus became prosperous and gained economic ascendancy in the province.

Decline of economy and absence of political stability was followed by pessimism, frustration and loss of self-confidence among Muslims. They began to lean heavily on pirs and murshids, indulge in the use of drugs and take to either nomadic life of stock-breeding or at best some sort of cultivation. Finally, Baluchi tribes formed the landed aristocracy and Hindus dominated trade. Since they lived mostly in urban areas, most of the cities of Sind began to have Hindu majorities. With wealth and urban life, Hindus acquired education and sophistication while the once assertive, active and energetic Sindhi Mussalman who was fond of education and learning, art and culture, became lethargic, meek and docile and disappeared in the recesses of the rural areas.

British conquest of Sind in 1843 A.D. increased the misery of the Muslims. Hindu domination in both economic and educational fields was

41. *Nawai Alamarai Nadiri, By* Mohammad Kazim.
42. *Sind and the Races of the Indus Valley, By* R.F. Burton.
43. *Travels in Baluchistan and Sind, By* H. Pottinger.

strengthened leaving the Muslims completely at the mercy of the Hindus by the beginning of the 20th century. But the Sindhi Mussalmans have proved that they possess immense power of recuperation as they can draw on their glorious intellectual and spiritual heritage. Moreover, Sind is distinguished among the provinces of this sub-continent for having enjoyed political independence or autonomy from every central government for a much longer period than any other region.

It is indeed an irony that these very Sindhis should be regarded meek and docile in our time while their entire history belies this view. It must have been observed by the reader that before the arrival of the Muslims, Sind had its own rulers and was mostly independent. Even during the Arab rule it severed its relations with the Abbasid Caliphate from as early a date as 870 A.D. and set up an independent kingdom under the Hibari dynasty, extending only formal allegiance to Baghdad. After its conquest by Mahmud Ghaznavi in 1026 A.D. to its annexation by the British in 1843 A.D., for a period of over 800 years, Sind mostly had its own rulers. The Sumras, Sammas, Daudpotas, Kalhoras and Talpurs though not entirely or always independent, enjoyed considerable autonomy and were accorded recognition by various governments whether based in India, Afghanistan or Iran.

It were the adverse circumstaces of the 18th to 20th centuries that made them sloven and sluggish and deprived them of powers of initiative and traits of valour.

It is a glowing tribute to their inherent capabilities that within a quarter of a century after the establishment of Pakistan, they have regained political consciousness and are steadily recapturing their past greatness. This augurs well for the future of this country since a strong, vigorous Sind would mean a strong, vigorous Pakistan.

THE PUNJAB AND ITS PEOPLE

The history of the Punjab is a history of clashes and conflicts, of fierce encounters between races, cultures and ideologies. Punjab was sometimes the bastion of power, sometimes the hunting ground of Iranian and Central Asian hordes, and sometimes the stepping stone for the conquest of northern India. Turbulence and turmoil, furore and ferment mark every span of its chequered history. As the history of all the four provinces of Pakistan and Kashmir is closely related to each other, these remarks can be applied to each one of them, but they are more pronounced and prominent in the case of the Punjab.

"By natural situation Punjab has been the connecting link between the nomad-breeding grounds of Central Asia and the rich, alluvial plains of the Gangetic Valley. It was an easy gateway and as such, through it poured the swarms of the Aryans, the Scythians, the Greeks, the Mongols and the Turks into the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent in successive waves. Geographically it was the only defensive barrier, and once passed, the conqueror had India at his feet. The fate of the great dynasties like that of the Ghorids, the Khiljis, the Tughlaqs, the Lodhis and the Mughals was decided on its plains. The Mughals understood this and were sensible enough to convert it into an active ally and its material resources were harnessed to the chariot of the Mughal greatness."[1]

While reviewing the historical background of the Punjab one has to keep a few points in mind:

a) After the White Hun attacks in the 5th century A.D. Punjab remained mostly a desolate and barren country for a considerably long period;

b) When the Huns settled down in the Punjab and were absorbed in the Hindu fold as Rajputs and Jats etc., their internecine warfare did not allow the region to attain prosperity, leaving it hardly better than before;

c) Even after the establishment of Muslim power at Delhi early in the 13th century A.D., it could not be rehabilitated because of the constant Mongol attacks for a full century;

d) During periods when the northern half of the Punjab was under constant pressure from Central Asian attacks, the southern half (roughly the Multan and Bahawalpur Divisions) remained com-

1. *The Punjab under the Mughals, By* Mohammad Akbar.

paratively peaceful resulting in marked difference in the characteristics of the two regions and their inhabitants;

e) It was only from Akber's reign (1556-1605 A.D.) onward that attention began to be paid to some areas of the province; that too, to a limited extent;

f) From this period large groups of Rajput and Jat tribes from Rajputana, Delhi and Western U.P. began to settle down here;

g) A little earlier, Baluchi tribes (during Humayun's time) and Afghan tribes (during Lodhi and Suri periods) had also settled down here. Again, in the 18th century, during Abdali's invasions a number of Afghan families settled down all over the Punjab, while during the Sikh rule in the 19th century, as a result of widespread and recurrent famines in Kashmir, a large number ot Kashmiri families migrated here.

h) The prosperity of a large part of the Punjab dates back only to the British period when early this century world's largest irrigation system was constructed here. The resulting colonisation brought in another influx from East Punjab and Rajputana.

But this does not mean that the various elements inhabiting the Punjab today are new to the Province. These same elements had inhabited the region previously, but had dispersed during various periods of turbulence. They, particularly the Rajput and Jat tribes, merely re-entered their old homes. Some scholars even hold the view that the Pakhtuns also originally belonged to the Punjab. "The Pathans and Baluchis are both foreigners in the Punjab proper, and have entered its political boundaries within the last few hundred years, though it is not impossible that in doing so the Pathans only re-entered a country which their ancestors had left more than a thousand years ago."[2]

Thus, in addition to the Rajput, Jat and their associate tribes of Arain, Awan, Gujjar etc., the Punjab had quite substantial elements of Pathans, Baluchis and Kashmiris. Apart from this, the Punjab also had an accretion of Irani, Turani, Arab elements during the Muslim period who constitute a small percentage of the Province's urban population. But the bulk of the rural population consists of the above mentioned tribes who were converted to Islam by the Sufi saints over a period of 700-800 years.

In the course of history the Punjab has had several names. In the early stages it was called Sapta Sindhva alongwith other parts of Pakistan. In the

2. *Punjab Castes, By* Sir Denzil Ibbetson.

Mahabharata it is referred to as Taka Desh *i.e.,* country of a people called Taka; then Saka Divpa *i.e.,* country of Sakas. According to Harsha Charita, written as late as the 7th century A.D., West Punjab bore the title of Huna Desh—country of the Huns. Next it became known as Panjnad *i.e.,* country of five rivers; and finally, during the Mughal period, the Punjab, which name continues to our own times. Thus both in name and in the composition of its population the history of the New Punjab starts from the time of the Mughals.

We shall, however, begin with the early period. It would be worthwhile mentioning that the histories of the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Afghanistan/NWFP in the early (pre-Muslim) period are so closely and intimately linked up with each other that their separate treatment would be almost impossible. As already stated in the beginning, the two major centres of Indus Valley Civilization were located at Moenjo Daro in Sind and Harappa in the Punjab with smaller ones in Baluchistan and NWFP. Similarly, for centuries, the entire area covered by these provinces from Kashmir to the Arabian Sea, was called Sind. Even at a later period when separate kingdoms were set up in the north and south, Multan was the capital of Sind with southern Punjab and Bahawalpur forming part of one kingdom.

"The city of Multan which, by its geographical position, commanded the Indus Valley, assumed an important position as capital of Sind throughout the ancient history and served as a centre of contact with the rest of India and of diffusion of culture in the Indus Valley. . . . The city of Multan has served as a connecting link with the Punjab and Kashmir with which Sind has age-long affinities—cultural, racial and linguistic. It is no wonder then that the Sindhis have been called Multanis in Bombay till the present times.[3]

This factor of 'unity' between the Punjab and Sind will be found operating more vigorously in the case of large-scale settlements following invasions from Central Asia. We shall take up this aspect first.

When the Aryans invaded Pakistan about 1500 B.C. defeating the people of the Indus Valley, they settled down in all the four provinces—the Punjab and Sind attracting the largest numbers. Similarly, when the Aryans left Pakistan for the Gangetic Valley about 1,000 B.C., new waves of Iranian races poured in making settlements in NWFP, Baluchistan, the Punjab and Sind. Later on, the whole of Pakistan became part of Persia's Kayani Empire with the result that when Alexander smashed its power,

3. *Sindhi Culture, By* U.T. Thakur.

he conquered this entire province from Sutlej to the Hub river leaving behind several Greek settlements.

LEADING TRIBES OF PUNJAB AND THEIR ORIGIN

Next begin the invasions of Central Asian tribes of Sakas, Kushans, Huns and Gujjars who again settled down in all the four provinces—Sind and the Punjab getting the largest quota as usual. Since these tribes form the main strain in the racial composition of the people of Pakistan whose 60% population is now concentrated in the Punjab, we shall briefly discuss some of its aspects here.

The last two tribes *i.e.,* the Huns and the Gujjars arrived in the 5th century A.D. when Hinduism had revived under the Gupta Empire but had not fully succeeded in crushing the influence of Buddhism. As the Gupta Empire collapsed under the impact of Hun invasions, it caused deep consternation among the Brahmins in view of their failure to eliminate Buddhism while the Gupta power supporting them in this task had disappeared. Therefore, they began to make overtures to the new arrivals who were valiant, vigorous and warlike. They were offered the rank of Kshatryas in the Hindu fold, a position only next to that of the Brahmins and confers the responsibility of rulership.

In the course of time the leading groups of Huns were absorbed in the Hindu fold as Kshatryas while the Jats, who were the descendants of the remaining groups of Huns, occupied a lower strata of society. But the present-day Jats and Rajputs also include the descendants of the previous invaders—the Sakas and the Kushans and even of earlier races.

"....The corresponding role was played by the Brahman ecclesiastical fraternity in the political articulation of a nascent Hindu society when the Brahmans conferred legitimacy on Rajput dynasties descended from Hun and Gujjar Eurasian Nomad Founders of barbarian successor-states in the former domain of the Guptan Empire by discovering irreproachable genealogies for these casteless interlopers who could never have passed themselves off as Kshatriyas without the aid of the Brahmans' intellectual dexterity and religious prestige."[4]

Todd assigns Scythian origin to the Rajputs. He says that Scythians came to be known as Sakas in India and were absorbed in the Hindu fold as Kshatriyas. "Sakas, Yavannas (Greeks), Pallavas (Pahlavis of Iran) ultimately became Kshatriyas."[5]

4. *A Study of History,* Vol. VII. *By* Arnold J. Toynbee,
5. *Vedic Age, By* R.C. Majumdar.

"The Huns are known to have been regarded as one of the 36 clans of Rajputs."[6]

"According to some other writers, this class of warriors arose as a result of re-arrangement of the society which had absorbed the foreign elements and had been so shaken to its very foundations that it necessitated re-adjustment. And when these claimants to princely honours accepted the Hindu faith and adjusted themselves to the new Brahmanised social system, they were affiliated to the Vedic Kshatriyas whose exploits and heroism were recorded in the epics........Supported by the Rajputs, the Brahmins re-asserted themselves with vigour and intensity and re-constructed the society as necessitated by the assimilation of foreign elements and demands of the time. By the time the Arabs invaded the country, the Brahmin revival had already set in and the cities and ports which adorned the Indus banks were the hot bed of Hinduism with Multan as its stronghold."[7]

Almost 70% of the population of the Punjab comprises of Rajputs and Jats and the various branches of their race such as Awans, Khokhars, Ghakkars, Khattars, Janjuas, Arains, Gujjars, etc. Though the Awans, Khokhars and Khattars claim common ancestry from Qutb Shah who is said to have come from Ghazni with Mahmud Ghaznavi, scholars hold the view that they were most probably converted by Qutb Shah during Mahmud Ghaznavi's reign and were not his descendants. This tendency of claiming foreign origin by some of the local tribes is not uncommon. "Even admittedly Rajput tribes of famous ancestry such as the Khokhar, have begun to follow the example of claiming connection with the Mughal conquerors of India or the Qureshi cousins of the Prophet."[8]

"A branch of the Wattu Rajputs of the Sutlej by an affection of peculiar sanctity, have in the course of a few generations become Bodeas and now deny their Rajput and claim Qureshi origin. There is a Kharral family lately settled in Bahawalpur who have begun to affect peculiar holiness and to marry only with each other and their next step will certainly be to claim Arab descent."[9]

According to Thomson, Awans are a Jat race and were converted to Islam by Mahmud Ghaznavi. In several districts of the Punjab they are registered as Jats. Mr. Thomson in his Jehlum Settlement Report adduces

6. *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, By* D.C. *Sircar.*
7. *Sindhi Culture, By* U.T. Thakur.
8. *The Punjab Castes, By* Sir Denzil Ibbetson.
9. Ibid.

many strong reasons in support of his conclusion that the Awans are a Jat race who came from the passes west of D.I. Khan. Griffin also agrees to the Hindu origin of Awans while Gunningham holds that Janjuas and Awans are descended from Anu and calls them Anwan. Another scholar, Wilson, is of the view that Awans are indigenous, and of Hindu origin. In the genealogical tree of the Nawabs of Kalabagh, who are regarded heads of the Awans, there are found several Hindu names such as Rai, Harkaran etc. They usually employed Brahmins as family priests.

As regards Gujjars, the well-known scholar Cunningham thinks that they are descended from the Scythian (Saka) and Yue-chi (Kushan) tribes who invaded Pakistan in the first century B.C. and in the first century A.D. respectively. Since the tribe migrated from the Caspian Sea which is called Bahr-e-Khizar it was named Khizar, Guzar, Gurjar, Gurjara or Gujjar. The name Hazara was given to the district by these Guzara tribes.[10] The name Gujjar, according to another version, is derived from the words 'Gau' and 'Char' meaning cattle grazers.

Though Arains claim Iranian descent, they too are generally considered of Rajput origin. According to the Punjab Gazetteer, the Arains of Sahiwal District themselves pointed out that they were Surajbansi Rajputs originally settled around Delhi. Arains of Ghaggar Valley say that they were Rajputs living on the Panjnad near Multan. Mr. Purser writes: They are usually supposed to be Muslim Kambohs. The Jullander Arains themselves say that they are descended from Rai Chajju of Ujjain. Kambohs claim descent from Raja Keran who was related to him.

Similarly, Ranghars and Meos are described to be of Rajput/Jat origin who were converted to Islam during the time of Qutbuddin Aibak. Kahutas are a mixed Mughal and Rajput tribe. Khattars are related to Awans and Jats.

"Khokhars are sometimes returned as Jats and sometimes as Rajputs. Col. Davis notes that many of the social customs of the Khokhars of Shahpur denote Hindu origin. Eastern Punjab Khokhars themselves claim Jat-Rajput origin. Only some of the West Punjab Khokhars claim Arab origin."[11]

Gen. Cunningham identifies the Ghakkars with Gangaridae of Dionysius and holds them to be descendants of Yueti or Tokhari Scythians (Sakas).

10. *Shahaan-e-Gujjar, By* K.S. Moulvi Abdul Malik, a former Revenue Minister of Bahawalpur.
11. *The Punjab Castes, By* Ibbetson.

In Pakistan, Rajput and Jat tribes are so mixed up that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other at many places and in several cases. Some of the Rajput tribes are probably of Jat origin and *vice versa*. In south-west Punjab the name Jat includes a most miscellaneous congeries of tribes of all sorts. Its significance tends to be occupational: to denote a body of cultivators or agriculturists. Even tribes which bear well-known Rajput names are often classed as Jats in the Punjab. Anyway, the origin of both is the same as stated earlier.

Gen. Cunningham and Major Todd agree in considering the Jats of Indo-Scythian stock. Major Todd classifies Jats as one of the great Rajput tribes. "They belong to one and the same stock....they have been, for many centuries, so blended and so intermingled into one people that it is practically impossible to distinguish them as separate wholes. At present distinction is social rather than ethnic. The same tribe is Rajput in one district and Jat in another according to the position in local tribes.... During census many of the Jats entered, as third heading, the name of the Rajput tribe from which they claim to have sprung.[12]

"The Jats in ancient times inhabited the whole valley of the Indus down to Sind....They now form a most numerous as well as the most important section of the agricultural population of the Punjab."[13]

"Beyond the Punjab, Jats are chiefly found in Sind where they form the mass of the population."[14]

The main (Muslim) Rajput tribes of the Punjab are:

Bhatti, Punwar, Chauhan, Minhas, Tiwana, Noon, Chib, Gheba, Jodhra, Janjua, Sial and Wattu etc. while the important (Muslim) Jat tribes are:

Bajwa, Chatta, Cheema, Randhawa, Ghammon, Buta, Kahlon, Gil, Sehota, Taror, Waraich, Summa, Wahla, Bhutta, Malhi, Sukhera, Alpials, Dahas, Langah, Ranghar, Meo, Awan, Khokhar, Ghakkar etc. But some of these Rajput tribes are classed as Jats and *vice versa* as already stated.

Punjab has had its periods of prosperity and poverty in a regular cycle. As stated earlier, before the arrival of Muslims, Punjab along with the other provinces of Pakistan was leading a separate existence from that of India, and kingdoms based in its territories or in the NWFP often ruled over most of northern India. Kushan, Bactrian and Hun Kingdoms with

12. *Steedman*, quoted *By* Ibbetson in the Punjab Castes.
13. *History of the Punjab*, *By* S.M. Latif.
14. *The Punjab Castes*, *By* Ibbetson.

their capitals at Peshawar, Taxila and Sialkot respectively, ruled over large parts of northern India for centuries. As such, Pakistan in general and the Punjab in particular have had long traditions of rulership. After the 5th century A.D. when Hun settlements took place on a large and extensive scale, and these conquerors, along with the previous Saka and Kushan settlers, were absorbed in the Hindu fold as Kshatryas/Rajputs, then rulership became their hallmark. They became the dominant race of northern India, the sword-bearers: proud and powerful, daring and dashing, hardy and chivalrous.

But, after a few centuries, because of internecine warfare and constant bloodshed the population of the Punjab declined and most of the Rajput/Jat tribes migrated and settled down in Rajputana and around Delhi/Western U.P. When Mahmud Ghaznavi appeared on the scene in 1000 A.D. the Rajput/Jat tribes had dwindled in numbers and diminished in strength. Defeated by the fresh and florid Turks, they became mostly demoralised and during the 175-year Ghaznavid rule in Pakistan, they remained inactive. Then came the Ghorids who defeated the last mighty combination of Rajputs under their great leader Prithvi Raj Chauhan in 1192 A.D. at the battle of Tarain in East Punjab leading to the establishment of Turkish Sultanate in Delhi in 1206 A.D. under Qutbuddin Aibak. That was the end of Rajput supremacy in northern India and also the end of Pakistan's separate existence for the next 750 years during the entire period of Muslim and British rulers except for a brief interlude of about half a century from 1800-1848 under the Sikhs.

With the establishment of Delhi Sultanate a new chapter opened in the life of most of the Rajput tribes. Simultaneously with the arrival of Mohammad Ghori in this sub-continent late in the 12th century A.D. a great saint, Hazrat Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti reached Ajmer, the capital of Prithvi Raj and the greatest centre of Rajputs at the time. He was followed by a stream of preachers whose selfless devotion to the cause of Islam and relentless services to humanity are unparalleled in history. We shall discuss their work briefly in a separate chapter. However, the greatest of them, buried in Pakistan, were the four friends called 'Chahar Yar'—Hazrat Fariduddin Masud Ganj Shakar of Pak Pattan, Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria of Multan, Hazrat Jalaluddin Bukhari of Uch-Bahawalpur and Hazrat Lal Shah Baz Qalandar of Sehwan. These saints and their associates/disciples converted most of the Rajput/Jat tribes of Pakistan to Islam. This process of conversion, begun in the early 13th century A.D. continued for over seven hundred years till the close of the 19th century A.D.

THE MONGOL INCURSIONS

Simultaneously with the establishment of Muslim Sultanate in Delhi in 1206 A.D. a new power had sprung up beyond Central Asia. Changez Khan had been crowned head of the united Mongol tribes the same year. A few years later began the misfortunes of the Muslim world which had a profound effect on every facet of Muslim life in the sub-continent, particularly of the Punjab. Having smashed the power of Mohammad Qhwarizm Shah who was the greatest Muslim monarch of the time, Ghangez Khan began to chase his nephew, Jalaluddin Qhwarizm Shah. This young and valiant monarch gave tough fight to the 'Scourge of God' and had several successful encounters with him all along Khorasan and Afghanistan—the last on the banks of River Indus. With his forces depleted and unable to stand the vast numerical superiority of the Mongols, Jalaluddin Qhwarizm Shah, while fighting the enemy and inflcting heavy casualties on him, plunged into the Indus at Kalabagh and waving his flag swam across into the Punjab along with his retinue. From a rock jetting over the river near Kalabagh, Changez Khan watched this singular act of daring with deep admiration and profound respect. Turning to his sons Ghangez advised them to imbibe the invincible spirit, indomitable courage and implacable determination demonstrated by his youthful adversary. "Such a son must a father have," he exclaimed. Perhaps exhausted, perhaps overawed by the bleak prospects of chasing such a formidable enemy, Changez returned home leaving in peace the newly born Delhi Sultanate. If Changez had crossed the Indus, history of this sub-continent would probably have been different. "Jalaluddin Qhwarizm Shah fought bravely and desperately against the Mongols at the bank of the Indus and at last seated on his charger, leapt from the top of a 60 ft. cliff near Kalabagh into the river bearing the banner in his hand. Changez admired his bravery but it did not prevent him sending an army across the Indus in pursuit. It ravaged the districts of Peshawar, Lahore and Multan but did not find the Shah." [15]

However, peace was not to last long. Changez Khan's successors took up the cutgels within a decade and for the next hundred years kept the Delhi Sultanate on its tenterhooks. From the days of Shamsuddin Altamash to the early years of Tughlaq dynasty, Mongol raids and ravages were a regular and constant feature. And who bore the brunt of these ferocious Mongol attacks? The Punjab.

It was on the rivers Indus, Jhelum and Chenab that India was defended; it was on the plains of the Punjab that the enemy forces were so often

15. *The Mongol Empire, By* Michael Prawdin.

defeated and beaten; it was in the 'doabas' of the Punjab that the Mongols practised their fiendish scorched earth policy. Thrice Lahore was captured, sacked and burnt. But the people of the Punjab bore these calamities with perfect equanimity and exemplary fortitude.

The extent to which the Punjab suffered as a result of Mongol attacks from 13th century onward can be reckoned from the following events:

1. In 1221 A.D. some of Changez Khan's forces crossed the Indus in pursuit of Jalaluddin Qhwarizm Shah, ravaged vast tracts of the Punjab and sacked Multan and Lahore. (At this time Naser-uddin Qubacha was the independent ruler of Pakistan and Sham-suddin Altamash of India).
2. In 1241 A.D. during the reign of Altamash's daughter, Razia Sultana, Mongols attacked the Punjab, sacked and burnt Lahore.
3. In 1246 A.D. Mongols attacked the Punjab and invested Multan.
4. In 1260 and in subsequent years during the time of Balban, Mongols attacked the Punjab and ravaged the countryside several times. In one of the encounters near Multan, Balban's eldest son Prince Mohammad was killed.
5. Next big attack came in 1285 A.D.
6. In 1291 A.D. a grandson of Hulagu invaded the Punjab but was defeated by Alauddin Khilji.
7. In 1298 A.D. Mongols again invaded the Punjab with a force of 100,000 and advanced as far as Delhi but were decisively defeated by Alauddin Khilji.
8. In 1304 A.D. and 1305 A.D. Mongols attacked the Punjab and ravaged Multan, but were defeated by the Governor of the Punjab, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq.
9. In 1327 A.D. the Punjab was attacked and Multan ravaged.
10. In 1341 A.D. the Punjab was ravaged for the first time by the Afghans under their Chief, Shahu.
11. In 1358 A.D. Mongols again attacked the Punjab.
12. In 1396 A.D. Pir Mohammad and Taimur attacked the Punjab.
13. In 1429 A.D. the Punjab was attacked by Amir Shaikh Ali, ruler or Kabul.
14. In 1520 A.D., five years before the first battle of Panipat, Baber attacked the Punjab inflicting considerable damage; and again in 1524 A.D. Baber's troops plundered Lahore.

These were only the major attacks; in between, there were innumerable raids with what consequences one can easily visualize. Ghiasuddin Tughlaq who was Governor of Lahore before he became ruler of Delhi in 1320 A.D. is said to have fought 29 battles against Mongols during Alauddin Khilji's reign.

Since to save the Delhi Sultanate, it was vital to make defence on one of the rivers of the Punjab, whoever defended it successfully was considered a national hero and tipped for rulership at Delhi. When the Khilji dynasty declined, the court nobles invited Ghiasuddin Tughlaq, Goverhor of Lahore to take over. The Tughlaq dynasty he established lasted from 1320 to 1398 A.D. It collapsed when Delhi was attacked by Taimur Lung. Tughlaq dynasty was followed by the Syed dynasty whose founder Khizr Khan was also Governor of the Punjab before becoming ruler of India in 1414 A.D. The Syed dynasty was followed by Lodhi dynasty whose founder Bahlul Lodhi was, again, incharge of the Punjab before he established his rule in Delhi in 1451 A.D. Bahlul had actually seized Lahore in 1436 as a first step to power. Earlier also Chandragupta Maurya who hailed from the Punjab could set up his rule in India because of his mastery over his own province. "Himself a native of the Punjab, Chandragupta Maurya organised the predatory tribes of the north-west against the Greeks. His mastery of the Punjab enabled him to conquer Magadha."[16]

From the establishment of Delhi Sultanate in 1206 A.D. for over 300 years, the Punjab bore the brunt of foreign attacks and saved the Muslim state from extinction. In this painful process, Punjab's population and prosperity diminished and its entire life was crippled. After this period, the Punjab was almost an uninhabitable waste, except for a few walled cities. Because of constant Mongol raids it remained depopulated and very little agriculture was carried on. Baber's memoirs say that Rai Ram Deo Bhati of Patiala rented the whole of the Punjab from the Governor of Lahore for 900,000 takas.[17] Of the few cities, Multan and Lahore were wealthy trade and religious centres.

During the 15-year period of Suri rule (1540-55) the Punjab still remained a frontier from where the empire had to be defended. The population of the Punjab had declined considerably so much so that in the 16th century Sher Shah Suri (1540-45 A.D.) could envisage a plan to create no-man's land between Attock and Lahore by rendering the entire West Punjab desolate to create difficulties for Central Asian 'marauders' and

16. *History of the Punjab, By* S.M. Latif.
17. *Ibid.*

thus make India 'safe' from their inroads. If Sher Shah had not died a premature death after remaining in power only for five years, he might have carried his plan into execution—with what results is anybody's guess. Earlier, Balban had acted upon this plan to a limited extent. "Mongol invasion became a menace after the death of Altamash, but within ten years Balban laid down a strategy of defence. This consisted in withdrawing the frontier to the east of the Indus, leaving a 40-50 mile broad strip of no-man's land so laid waste as to deny the invader water and fodder, and offering battle when he crossed this strip. The bases of the defending armies were Lahore, Multan and Depalpur from where they could operate freely and manoeuvre as required in particular situations. The defence bases were in charge of the most outstanding generals, two of whom, Jalaluddin Khilji and Ghyasuddin Tughlaq were raised to the throne."[18]

During the Mughal period most parts of the Punjab were still covered with forests and the presence of tigers, lions and elephants and other wild animals was not wanting. Having captured the rebellious Khusrau and punished him and his companions, Jehangir is said to have spent more than three months hunting in the various jungles of the Punjab. He and his retinue are reported to have killed 576 animals in this expedition.

"Until the Turks should reach the very heart of the Indian Empire at Delhi, they had no very serious opposition to fear. The whole of the Punjab, now a rich agricultural country watered by five great rivers, was then an almost uninhabited waste, except for a few strongly-defended and walled cities, in which the unwarlike Hindoos could live in some security from their neighbours, the highlanders of Kabul. The Moghuls of Balkh and Kabul, every year, used to make raids on the Punjab and for this reason this country remained depopulated for a long time, and very little agriculture was carried on."[19]

THE MUGHAL PERIOD

With the Mughals firmly planted in power in Delhi by the middle of the 16th century *i.e.,* during Akber's time, there was considerable improvement. Mughal frontiers stretched beyond Kabul upto the Hindu Kush leaving the Punjab far behind the defence line. This development brought about profound change in Punjab's life. "Later we find the Mughal Emperors using all means within their power to maintain their hold over Qandahar, Ghazni and Kabul, and Shah Jehan attempted, in 1645-46 to occupy Balkh and even territory beyond."[20]

18. *Indian Muslims, By* Prof. M. Mujeeb.
19. Invasions of India from Central Asia: Pakistan National Publishers, Lahore.
20. *Indian Muslims, By* Prof. M. Mujeeb.

Though the Punjab was no more the battle ground and it had peace and tranquility, yet even then the main concentration of Mughal Emperors and the object of their lavish regard remained the northern Indian region between Panipat and Patna. A few cities of the Punjab and Sind, though, began to receive casual and random attention; this too, because, during the Mughal period the urban character of Indian Muslim civilization became more marked and apparent. "There were 120 big cities and 320 townships in Akber's Empire. Agra, the capital had a population of 660,000."[21] But how many of such big cities or townships were built in the areas now constituting Pakistan?

Unfortunately even after Akber's accession (1556 A.D.) all was not well in the Punjab. Akber's half-brother Hakeem Mirza who was controlling this province had to be driven out before peace could be restored in 1569. Six months after Jehangir's accession (1605 A.D.) his son Khusraw rebelled, escaped from Agra and with 10,000 troops plundered the Punjab and laid seige to Lahore. But Khusrau was defeated and all his accomplices including the 4th Sikh Guru Arjun Mal were punished. When Shah Jehan was proclaimed King at Agra in 1628 A.D. his younger brother Sharyar had already set up his standard at Lahore. He was, however, defeated and captured. Similarly when Aurangzeb defeated Dara, the latter fled to the Punjab and was defeated. Thus, all rebel Mughal princes sought asylum in the Punjab and were pursued by royal troops. In the process the Punjab suffered.

However, comparatively speaking, the Punjab had peace and, to some extent prosperity, for 150 years during the reigns of Akber, Jehangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb (1556 A.D.—1706 A.D.).

Aurangzeb, unfortunately, was too busy with the Marathas and the Deccan campaigns to pay much attention to the Punjab. After Aurangzeb's death, the atrocities committed by the Sikhs in the Punjab induced his son and successor Shah Alam Bahadur Shah to shift his capital from Delhi to Lahore. Several generals were sent to the hills to chastise the Sikhs who were forbidden to enter Lahore city. Shah Alam who died in Lahore in 712 A.D. after ruling only for five years, had succeeded in restoring peace to the Punjab. He was extremely popular in the province and a gate in Lahore is still called after him as Shah Alami.

After Shah Alam, Sikh problem again loomed large over the province. It was the foremost task of every governor to save the Punjab from the

21. Ibid.

depradations of the Sikhs. One of the governors, Abdus Samad Khan, was remarkably successful in this task and gave peace to the Punjab for two decades during the ineffective regime of Mohammad Shah Rangeela.

After Nadir Shah's attack on Delhi in 1739 and subsequent weakening of the Mughal power, it was difficult for Lahore governors to maintain law and order. Sikh menace had increased to a great extent particularly after the death of Governor Zakaria Khan. Ultimately, Ahmed Shah Abdali had to make constant visits to the Punjab to suppress the Sikhs.

In the post-Aurangzeb era Punjab's sufferings and privations can be easily appreciated from the following account:

1. After Aurangzeb's death in 1707, Sikh Jathas began to ravage the Punjab.
2. In 1739 Nadir Shah attacked the Punjab and his army mercilessly ravaged the province.
3. From 1747 onwards Ahmad Shah Abdali had to attack the Punjab about a dozen times to suppress the Sikhs.
4. In 1757 Marathas attacked the Punjab and occupied Lahore. "In 1757 Marathas over-ran the Punjab. Raghoba, brother of the Peshwa captured Lahore and the two Maratha chiefs Saleh Beg and Sanjila Beg were sent against Multan which they captured."[22]
5. As a result of civil war in Afghanistan which weakened the Abdalis, Sikhs again began to ravage the Punjab which culminated in the establishment of Ranjit Singh's rule in 1800 A.D.

The Sikh rule came at a time when the Mughal Empire had collapsed and the British were in control of Delhi, while as a result of internecine warfare among Afghans, no succour could be expected from that side either. The Punjabi Mussalmans were left unarmed and helpless at the mercy of the Sikh forces. We shall not dilate on the Sikh rule in the Punjab as the details of agonies and hardships Muslims underwent during this period are well-known.

However, one happy aspect of the Sikh rule was that Ranjit Singh began to recruit Punjabi Muslims for the first time in the armed forces as well as in the civil services. Previously, during the Mughal rule, both were the close preserve of either the Turanis or Hindu Rajputs.

A number of key posts during Ranjit Singh's rule and during the rest of the Sikh period were held by Muslims. The important role played

22. *The Punjab Chiefs, By* L.H. Griffin and others.

by the Faqir family is well-known. Faqir Azizuddin was Ranjit Singh's most trusted minister and negotiated most of the treaties with the British and the Afghans. His brothers Faqir Nuruddin, Chiraguddin and Imamuddin and his son Shah Din were all in top positions. Munshi Din Mohammad was another trusted minister, while Shaikh Ghulam Mohiuddin held an important official post. Among others Malik Baksh Khan and his son Jahan Khan were very senior officers.

Ghouse Khan was head of Ranjit Singh's artillery and General Ilahi Baksh was in command of a division.

Among the court physicians were two members of the Faqir family, Azizuddin and Nuruddin, and another noted Hakim Inayat Shah.

But the general attitude of the Sikhs towards the Muslims was one of hostility and repression. It was because of this fact that the Muslims of the Punjab generally supported the British rule when it came and the British, in turn, during their 99-year rule (1848-1947) gave shape to the province, restored peace and by vast irrigation works brought prosperity.

TWO MIGHTY EMPIRES COLLAPSE

For the first time in the history of Asia, both the big powers ruling over India and Iran—the Mughals and the Safavids—collapsed almost simultaneously early in the 18th century leading to massive upheaval and anarchy. The Mughals as well as the Safavids who had enlarged their dominions to the farthest extent in their respective countries making themselves 'universal states' (to use Tonybee's phraseology), ceased to be effective by the middle of the 18th century releasing centrifugal forces on a large scale which proved extremely detrimental to peace and security. In this sad drama of the decay and decline of empires, the area to suffer most was the Punjab which was sandwitched between the two giants.

On the decline of Safavids, Nadir Shah assumed sovereignty in Iran and finding power vacuum in India, turned towards this sub-continent. Nadir Shah's attack on India in 1739 A.D. was the first catastrophy after Aurangzeb's death and dealt a severe blow to the power and prestige of the already feeble Mughal Empire. It encouraged Marathas and Sikhs to break law and order and indulge in loot and arson with renewed vigour. Again, from 1747 onward Ahmad Shah Abdali's expeditions to quell the Sikhs and Marathas made the Punjab a veritable battlefield. The newly converted Muslims of the Punjab, who were never recruited in the Mughal armies and remained mostly unarmed were the main targets of Sikh marauding Jathas and the Maratha advance guards.

Thus, whatever little prosperity Punjabi Mussalman had acquired during the 150 years of Mughal rule from Akber to Aurangzeb began to vanish in the wake of these unhappy developments. He was harried and harassed, deprived of worldly possessions and driven to desperation. It was a crucial test of his patience and perseverance and of his steadfast adherence to the new religion which he had embraced voluntarily, cutting himself off from the Hindu fold.

However, the most redeeming feature of this turbulent period was that the Punjabi Mussalman did not waver; the political adversities least affected his faith and his ideology. In fact he emerged stronger, a more zealous Muslim through this period of trial and tribulation. He came out unscared, unscathed.

What is more inspiring is that the effect was quite the opposite. Though the Punjabi tribes of Rajputs, Jats, Gujjars, Arains, Awans etc. had embraced Islam during the Muslim period they had been kept in the background. In this context it is heartening to note that the adversities they faced after the decline of the Muslim power, instead of casting them down had raised their spirits and they began to assert themselves gradually and sometimes vigorously so that when Ranjit Singh came into power he had to obtain their cooperation and active support. As already stated, Ranjit Singh's administration as well as army had quite a few Punjabi Muslims in key positions. Though some groups of the Punjabi Mussalmans gave a tough fight to Ranjit Singh and continued their opposition to the Sikh rule to the last, yet in the absence of any effective Muslim power either in the east (India) or in the West (Iran/Afghanistan) most of them considered it prudent to gain their rights through cooperation. Since even the regular Afghan forces were defeated by the Sikhs, the unarmed Punjabi Mussalmans could not be expected to face them alone. Any person would feel that in the prevailing conditions this was the wisest course to adopt.

Unarmed, in a state of total disarray, with the Afghans fighting among themselves for the Kabul throne; with Mughals humbled and humiliated and lying prostrate before the Marathas and later before the British, it would have been disastrous for the Punjabi Mussalmans to measure sword with the Sikhs. Those who criticise the Punjabi Mussalman for his role during the Sikh and later the British rule either betray their ignorance of the conditions prevailing in this part of the sub-continent in the 18th/19th centuries or conveniently forget their own inglorious performance during the decline of the Mughal Empire. They also forget that a little later Sir Syed Ahmed

Khan also advocated the same policy of cooperation with the British which the Punjabi Muslims had adopted earlier.

ANTI-BRITISH MOVEMENTS IN PUNJAB

If a few anti-Sikh and anti-British movements originated among certain groups of northern Indian Muslims as those of Ahmed Shaheed Brelvi and the 1856 revolt, similar movements were started by the Punjabi Muslims which, unfortunately, have not received due publicity. Various Muslim Rajput and Jat tribes such as Bhattis, Chattas, Kharals and Tarors carried on unceasing struggle against Sikh ascendancy till they were crushed by Ranjit Singh in 1799—the same year in which Tippu Sultan died fighting against the British at Seringapatam. Under the leadership of Ghulam Mohammad, the ablest Chatta chief, Muslims gained several successes against the Sikhs and captured the famous Bhangi gun. Finding themselves in a precarious position, the Sikhs treacherously murdered Ghulam Mohammad by breaking a pledge and an agreement. Similarly, the Hafizabad Muslim tribes carried on guerilla warfare against the Sikhs for a long time.

The British too did not have smooth running in the early period of their rule in the Punjab. Writing about the unrest among the Punjabi Muslims during the 1857 Mutiny, Mr. S.S. Thorburn, *ICS*, a Financial Commissioner of the Punjab has the following to say:

> "The Muhammadan tribes were growing restive as the weeks lengthened...... The first to break out into blind, clumsy rebellion against order were branches of that numerous and barbarous people, the Gujjars, once supreme in Kashmir, but for centuries scattered as grazier and slovenly cultivators from the Kaghan glen in Hazara to Delhi. About Ludhiana and southwards bands of them collected and began plundering, but having neither cohesion, intelligence, nor firearms, were easily suppressed.

"From time to time other tribes in the same neighbourhood, such as the incorrigibly lazy and improvident Ranghars and the gipsy fraternities, known as "the criminal tribes", whom neither kindness nor severity has yet tamed to honest labour, also attempted risings, but were at once hunted down by police and levies, and terrorised into their normal condition of inoffensive uselessness. Later, the Kharals and Dhunds of the hills between Hazara and Rawalpindi made a combined movement against the hill sanatorium, Murree, but their insurrection fizzled out.

"Then, towards the end of the long tension in the third month of the struggle before Delhi, an insurrection on a large scale broke out amongst

the pastoral Muhammadan tribes, Kharrals and others, inhabiting the jungly tracts between Lahore and Multan. Though their largest gang took, sacked, and for some days, occupied a small town, Kot Kamalia, their rebellion was never formidable. They were merely roaming mobs of boors and cattlemen and boys. Once only did they venture on a combat with a small troop of horses. Wild and cunning as jackals in shifting from lair to lair, their suppression gave occupation for three months to several flying columns, and not until trackers followed up their spoor, and their flocks and herds were captured, did the troublesome business end."[23]

Although Mr. Thorburn speaks of the rising of Punjabi Muslims in rather derogatory terms, nevertheless he does mention in some detail the actual events which prove that there was widespread unrest in the Punjab during the Mutiny. I shall quote another author to prove my assertion. "In 1857 the native troops in Multan mutinied and were disarmed. They, however, charged and took the guns of the European artillery, attacking the men with clubs and bedposts....It is noteworthy that Skinners Horse, although about entirely composed of Mohammadans of good birth of the Delhi territory, remained staunch to the last and helped to suppress the rising of the Kharral tribes in the adjacent district of Sahiwal."[24] This statement shows that the British used Delhi Muslims to suppress the rising of the Punjabi Mussalmans.

"The Dhunds of the Punjab revolted against the British during the Mutiny....Similarly, followers of Makhdum of Pak Pattan revolted against the British in 1857 which is called Gugera insurrection."[25]

Therefore, to blame the Punjabi Mussalman for having cooperated with the Sikhs and the British is unfair and incorrect. There were risings during the Sikh as well as the British periods by the Muslims of the Punjab, as noted above, but they were of no avail. Similarly, the Mussalmans of northern India could do nothing effective against the Marathas who virtually controlled the whole of northern India for almost half a century. And remember, the northern India Muslims had all the wealth and armed might of the great Mughals at their disposal. The British too did not find the northern India Muslim a tough adversary. Both the naive ruler of Oudh and the effete Mughal Emperor surrounded by groups of perverts and depraved, could hardly put up any resistance.

For the Punjabi Mussalman it was a most painful dilemma. His rulers to the east—the Delhi emperors and their armies comprising of

23. *The Punjab in Peace and War, By* S.S. Thorburn.
24. *The Land of Five Rivers and Sind* (1883 A.D.), *By* David Ross.
25. *The Chiefs of the Punjab, By* Griffin and others.

northern India Muslims—had degenerated beyond redemption. They had already been subdued both by the Marathas and the British by 1800 A.D. While in the west, the dispute for the throne had thrown the Afghans into disarray so much so that they too were defeated and pushed beyond the Khyber by the vigorous Sikhs. Thus, if the two organised Muslim kingdoms of the Mughals in the east and the Afghans in the west with all the wherewithal could not stand the British and the Sikh powers, how could the Punjabi Mussalmans, who were neither armed nor organised, overcome the same Sikhs and British? This argument becomes more cogent and convincing when considered in the light of the fact that the Punjabi Mussalmans had no independent kingdom or armies of their own like the Mussalman of northern India or Afghanistan nor were they ever recruited in the armies of the Mughal empire of which the Punjab formed a province.

The other accusation brought against the Punjabi Mussalmans is that they fought as mercenaries in the British army—sometimes even against people of their own faith. This accusation, to put it mildly, is puerile and ridiculous. Students of history are aware that instances are abundant where people professing a certain religion have fought against their co-religionists under the banner of a king or leader belonging to another faith. In the 14th century A.D. two independent rival kingdoms had emerged in south India when the Tughlaq empire began to disintegrate. One was the Muslim kingdom of the Bahmanis and the other the Hindu kingdom of Vijianagar. Vijianagar had a large number of Muslims in its army who were always loyal to their masters and fought against the Muslim rulers of the Bahmani kingdom. Similarly, during the 3rd battle of Panipat in 1761 A.D. the Maratha army had its left flank manned by Muslims (mostly Pathans) under the command of Ibrahim Khan Gardi. They felt no compunction in fighting against Ahmed Shah Abdali and his Pathan soldiers. When Mahmud Ghaznavi had appeared on the Indian scene in 1000 A.D. the Ismaili rulers of Multan and Mansura formed alliances with Raja Jaipal and his son Anandpal and harassed Mahmud's forces. At the battle of Tarain in 1192 A.D. in which Mohammad Ghori defeated Prithvi Raj, Pathan soldiers were fighting on both sides. In 1310 A.D. when Alauddin Khilji's general, Malik Kafur was fighting the Raja of the Coromondal Coast in south India, a large number of Arabs settled there enlisted themselves in the Raja's army and fought against Malik Kafur. Some of the leading generals of Marathas were Mughals such as Saleh Beg and Sanjli Beg. During the long-drawn-out

Crusades, there are instances of some Muslim rulers having supported the Christians and fought with them against their co-religionists.

If the Muslims of any region in India first joined the British army as mercenaries and set an example in this direction, it were the Muslims of northern India. In the 100 years that elapsed between the battle of Plassey in 1757 and the Mutiny of 1857, the bulk of East India Company's forces consisted of northern Indian Muslims and Hindus who were called Purbhayyas. After the conquest of the Punjab in 1848 the British found a much better stuff, and naturally they discontinued recruitment of northern Indian Muslims who had lost stamina and lacked discipline.

If joining the Sikh or British armies and fighting against their co-religionists was a crime, Muslims of other parts of the sub-continent and of other countries were equally guilty of similar acts.

BRITISH IN THE PUJNAB

However, after about 140 years of chaos, confusion, depredations and sufferings commencing from the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, Punjab began to gain importance from the time of its conquest by the British in 1848. As the major recruiting ground for the British Indian Army and as an important area for selection of Muslim civil servants for the British Indian Government, the Punjab emerged a leading province of the sub-continent. With the construction of world's biggest irrigation system based on Indus and its five tributaries, the Punjab also began to make economic progress with rapid strides leading to a sharp rise in its population.

The Punjab was doubly fortunate during this period in that with these favourable developments at home, events outside had also taken a turn for the better. With stability in Afghanistan and Central Asia, the usual exodus towards the sub-continent ceased, and the Punjab was spared the havoc caused periodically by incursions from that direction. In other words it ceased to be a hunting ground for Central Asian and Afghan tribes who had been brought under organised governments.

The Punjab was also fortunate in that it escaped East India Company's rule which was a curse to other parts of India particularly to the Muslims of Bengal. The century of peace and prosperity under the British gave a definite shape to the people and the province of the Punjab.

Muslim Punjab was now well poised for playing an important part in the freedom movement and for a leading role in the new state of Pakistan that was to emerge in the middle of the 20th century.

It had built up a large and wealthy zamindar group wielding enormous powers and exercising considerable influence over vast areas; a politically conscious and economically contented middle class which found easy entry into British Indian civil and military services; a highly disciplined, sturdy soldier class which formed a fairly large percentage of the British Indian armed forces, while the bulk of the Muslims comprising of agriculturists eked out a tolerably tidy income from the canal irrigated lands. Favoured by a bracing climate, endowed with world's finest irrigation system, helped by a growing economy and above all peace for a century, the Punjab regained much of its lost vigour and vitality.

The people of the Punjab have been known throughout history for their great qualities of head and heart. An old Jaina book Dakshiniya Chihna points out that 'courtesy, generosity, fortitude, erudition and mercy were the characteristics of the Punjabis.

LAHORE THE SYMBOL OF MUSLIM CULTURE

The city of Lahore is so deeply and intimately connected with the history of Muslims in this sub-continent that it deserves a separate description.

The name, Lahore, is said to be derived from the word Lohar *i.e.,* blacksmith. According to another version it is named after Lohar Chand who is considered to be its founder. But according to a Hindu legend, Lahore and Kasur are named after Rama's sons Lav (or Loh) and Kas who are believed to have founded these two cities. However, apart from this legend there is hardly any mention of Lahore in the early Hindu period.

Alexander's historians do not mention Lahore, nor Strabo who wrote between 66 B.C. and 24 A.D. The city's name does not even appear in Pliny's description of the royal road between Indus and Allahabad. No coins either of Sakas or Bactrians have been discovered there.

According to scholars, Lahore may have been founded between 1st and 7th century A.D. by the Rajputs. Cities of this name founded by members of the Rajput race are located in several other regions also. There is a Lahore in Afghanistan, the seat of an old Rajput colony; another in Peshawar district; and a Lahore in the Mewar state of Rajputana. Lohawar (Lahore) became the capital of a Rajput dynasty in the 2nd century A.D. but because of its location on the main high-way, the dynasty is said to have subsequently shifted its capital to Sialkot.

As such, pre-Muslim history of Lahore is little known; it is confined to casual notices contained in the annals of neighbouring states of Rajputana

and Kashmir. Raja Taringini, an ancient chronicle of Kashmir, mentions Lahore as a dependency of the great Lalita Ditya. Glimpses are afforded by earlier Muslim writers and inferences drawn from numismatic evidence. Therefore, it can be safely assumed that during the Hindu period Lahore had hardly any significance.

Al-Baladhuri, who died in 892 A.D. (279 Hijri) is one of the earliest writers to mention Lahore as Al-Ahvar in 'Futuhul Buldan'. But this Al-Ahvar, according to some scholars, is the one near Peshawar. The Muslim historian, Masudi, who had visited Multan in the 10th century A.D. does not make any mention of Lahore. However, the name of Lahore located in the Punjab is first mentioned in the well-known book 'Hudud-ul-Alam' written in 990 A.D. (392 Hijri). It says: "Lahore is a town with numerous districts. Its Government is on behalf of the Chief of Multan. In it there are markets and idol temples. In it great number of pine trees, almond trees and coconut trees are found. All the inhabitants are idolaters and there are no Muslims there." Syed Ali Hujweri known as Dataganj Baksh who died between 1072-76 A.D., in his book 'Kashful Mahjub' has written: "In the country of India I myself had become a captive among uncongenial folk in the town of Lohanor, which is a dependency of Multan".

It was only from the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi early in the 11th century that Lahore assumed importance. Thus, its rise is linked with the coming of Muslims in the northern areas of this sub-continent. Mahmud Ghaznavi occupied Lahore in 1022 A.D. and built a fort leaving it in charge of Malik Ayaz. During the Ghaznavid period it served as a second capital and became the centre of ghazis, saints, scholars and artists. "The concentration of ghazis at places like Lahore was a potent factor in the turbulence of the Indian garrisons under Mahmud Ghaznavi. The ghazis were not registered in the Diwan-i-Ard as regular soldiers entitled to salary, but eventually an attempt was made to control their exuberance and make better tactical use of them. For Somnath, Mahmud took 30,000 regular cavalry plus volunteers *i.e.,* ghazis. There was in Masud's reign a special salar-e-ghazian, normally stationed at Lahore. This office was held by a Turkish Ghulam, Abdulla Qaratigin."[1] Masud II shifted Ghaznavid capital to Lahore in 1114 A.D. temporarily when Saljuqs sattacked them. It was again made capital by the last Ghaznavid ruler Khusro Malik a few years later but it fell to the Ghorids in 1186 A.D. Ghaznavids were so popular among Hindus that after their defeat and exit there were continuous risings in Lahore.

1. *The Ghaznavids, By* C.E. Bosworth.

An anonymous Armenian document of the 12th century A.D. (Ghaznavid Period) describes Lahore as a big and very rich city. It says: "This is a city of plenty and everything that is good and worthy in the country one can find in this city."

Abul Fida in the 14th century had read of it in the pages of Ibn-al-Athir as "a city great among cities of India." Abul Fazl in the 16th century describes it as the 'grand resort of people of all nations.'

"If Shiraz and Ispahan", says an old local proverb, "were united, they would not make one Lahore."

Bernier notes the magnificence of its palaces, the length of its streets, and the height of the houses as compared with those at Agra or at Delhi. Milton places Lahore among the —

Cities of old or modern fame, the seat
Of mightiest empires
Which met the eyes of the repentant Adam
From the hill of paradise

. . . .

————From the destined walls
Of Cambala, seat of Cathian Can
Around Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne
To Paquin of Sinaean kings; and thence
To Agra and Lahore of Great Moghul."

Paradise Lost, Bk. xi I

Moore has built up amid the "palaces, domes and gilded minarets" of Lahore a "city of enchantment" sacred to the loves of Lalla Rookh and Feramorz.

Following description of Lahore from Lalla Rookh is interesting

"They had now arrived at the splendid city of Lahore, whose mausoleums and shrines, magnificient and numberless, when death appeared to share equal honours with Heaven, would have powerfully affected the heart and imagination of Lalla Rookh, if feelings more of this earth had not taken entire possession of her already. The Rajas and Omeras in her train, who had kept at a certain distance during the journey, and never encamped nearer to the princes than was strictly necessary for her safeguard, which cast forth showers of confectionary among the people, while the artizans, in chariots adorned with tinsels and flying streamers, exhibited badges of their respective trades through the streets. Such brilliant displays of life and

pageantry among the palaces, and domes, and gilded minarets of Lahore, made the city altogether like a place of enchantment.[2]

The Historian Fakhri Mudabbir in his 'Adab al Harb Wash Shujaat' mentions that when Mohammad Ghori was assassinated in Jhelum district, the coronation ceremony of his successor Qutbuddin Aibak was held at Lahore in 1206 A.D. But a couple of decades later began the agonies and sufferings of Lahore. For more than a century the Mongols, as already stated elsewhere, made frequent attacks on the Punjab and on several occasions sacked and burnt Lahore. From the first quarter of the 13th century to the middle of the 16th century, for more than 300 years, Lahore served as a military outpost for both the invaders from outside and for the rulers at Delhi.

"The Punjab's capital, Lahore, had been a symbol to conquerors arriving from the West. Having fought through the Pathan tribesmen, invading armies usually established their major encampments in the Punjab, where they could gather and feed their forces before forging eastward. By the same token, rulers in Delhi used Lahore as their major forward post for protecting the empire from Pathans and other unfriendly visitors from beyond the Suleiman Mountains."[3]

During this period the most capable generals were appointed governors at Lahore as, on their capability to hold back the invaders, depended the survival of the Indian empire.

MUGHAL CAPITAL

Lahore had peace and assumed greater importance during the Moghul period, particularly from the time of Akbar. For fouteen years from 1584-98 A.D. Akbar made Lahore his Headquarter and undertook expeditions against Kashmir and Afghan tribes.

Most of Lahore's architectural remains also belong to the Moghul period. Prince Khurram, brother of Humayun, when viceroy of the Punjab seems to have given the first impulse to architectural adornments of Lahore by building a palace and garden near the suburb of Naulakha, extending to Ravi.[4] It is also related that Akbar erected two buildings outside the city for the entertainment of devotees of every kind: One called Khair Pura for Jews and Muslims and another Dharam Pura for Hindus. Weekly meetings were held in which Birbal, Abul Fazl, Faizi and other independent

2. *Lahore, By* Thornton and Kipling (1876).
3. *Pakistan: Birth and Growth of a Nation, By* Richard V. Weeks.
4. *Lahore, By* Thornton and Kipling.

thinkers participated. Part of one building was still standing near Mian Mir till recently. Akbar also received Christian Portuguese missionaries in Lahore.

In 1623 Jehangir fixed his court at Lahore. For five years Lahore was his capital and when he died in November 1627 he wished to be buried in the city. Jehangir liked Lahore immensely and so did his wife Nur Jehan.

Shah Jehan held court in Lahore on his marches to Kashmir and back. The buildings and gardens that Jehangir and Shah Jehan gave to Lahore are too well-known to be described here. During Jehangir's time two Englishmen Richard Still and John Growther visited the Punjab in 1626. They say: "Lahore is one of the best cities of India with plentiful of all things."

Shah Jehan's son Dara Shikoh was very popular among the people of Lahore where he lived. Therefore, his cause was espoused by Lahorites against Aurangzeb. A town and district in the Punjab were named after him as Shikoh Pura (now corrupted to Sheikhupura). After Aurangzeb's death, his son Shah Alam had also made Lahore his capital. He too was a very popular monarch and Lahorites had great regard and respect for him. A gate in Lahore is still known after him as Shah Alami. After Shah Alam's death Lahore witnessed war of succession between Azimus-Shan and Jahandar. The latter succeeded but seven months later was defeated by Azimus-Shan's son Farrukh Siyar.

From 1717-38 the Punjab was peaceful under the governorships of Abdus Samad Khan and his son Zakaria Khan. Mir Mannu, who was confirmed by Ahmed Shah Abdali, was also a successful governor. But after his death in 1752 chaos and confusion prevailed. Sikh Jathas captured Lahore in 1756 and the Marathas took it in 1757. But Abdali's incursions and successes against both saved Lahore and the Punjab for some time.

"Sikhs again occupied Lahore in 1776 A.D. For nearly 30 years after the return of Ahmad Shah Abdali to Afghanistan the three Sikh chiefs and their respective sons ruled over Lahore without any interruption from an outsider."[5]

"From the death of Aurangzeb to the accession of Ranjit Singh, the fate of Lahore was singularly unfortunate. As the capital of an outlying province it was naturally the first to suffer from the weakness of the decaying Mughal Empire."[6]

5. *Lahore: Past and Present, By* Mohammad Baqir.
6. *Ibid.*

However, Ranjit Singh became master of Lahore in 1799 and during the course of the next quarter of a century established his rule over (West) Punjab, Kashmir and N.W.F.P.

As capital of the Sikh state for about half a century and capital of the whole of the Punjab for about a century under the British, Lahore city and its population expanded steadily. During the British period it became one of the leading literary centres of the sub-continent and took prominent part in the propagation of Urdu language through the publication of books, magazines and newspapers.

Lahore had been centre of literary activity from as early as the Ghaznavid period. "Lahore owed much to Abu Nasr Farsi, the distinguished Secretary of Shirzad who was Viceroy for many years. He established a 'khankha' at Lahore which attracted scholars from far and near. In large numbers, seekers after knowledge from all parts of India, and the territories of Kashgar, Transoxiana, Iraq, Bukhara, Samarkand, Khurasan, Ghazni, Herat etc. benefited by the same. Consequently a new settlement grew up in Lahore....The first Persian poet of Lahore was Masud Razi and the most notable poet Masud Saad Salman born at Lahore in 1048 A.D. Among prose writers, Ali Hujweri, who died in 1072 was most eminent. He wrote both in prose and verse."[7]

Lahore has another unique distinction. It was the greatest centre of Islam's propagation. In its environs are buried sufis and saints who have rendered meritorious service to the cause of this great religion. Among them are Hazrat Dataganj Baksh, Shaikh Ismail, Hazrat Shah Mohammad Ghouse, Hazrat Shah Jamal, Hazrat Shah Khairuddin Abul Maali, Hazrat Syed Yakub Zanjani, Hazrat Mian Mir, Hazrat Sheikh Daud etc.

From the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi to the present day, during the course of about a thousand years, Lahore has played a leading role as: a) the seat for the propagation of Islam; b) as an outpost for the expansion of Muslim power in northern India; c) as an outpost for the defence of Muslim Indian empire from foreign invaders; d) as the second capital of the Ghaznavids and later of the Mughals; e) as resting place of a large number of eminent saints of Islam; and f) as a great literary and educational centre. Thus, it has acquired a distinct Islamic character which no other city in the sub-continent can claim. Its name has gathered a peculiar aura around it and has become charismatic to the Muslims of this sub-continent whose fate has been invariably linked with the fate of this city.

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7. *Muslim Civilization in India By* S.M. Ikram.

KASHMIR

In August 1947, at the time of partition of the sub-continent, the total area of the state of Jammu & Kashmir was about 84,000 sq. miles. It was divided into 1. Kashmir Province 2. Jammu Province 3. The small state of Poonch 4. Gilgit Agency which included Hunza and Nagar and 5. The mountainous area of Baltistan and Laddakh. "Of these regions Laddakh was Buddhist while there was Hindu majority only in a part of the Jammu Province located to the south and east of River Chenab. The rest of the regions including most of Jammu were Muslim."[1] The rulers belonged to the Mian Rajput tribe also called Dogras.

The most important and thickly populated area of the State is the Kashmir Valley also known as Jhelum Valley, about 100 miles long and 30 miles broad. It stretches from east to west sheltering within the mighty protection of the Korakoram and Pir Panjal ranges.

"Great mass of the village Muslims come under the head, Shaikh, and are descendants of original Hindus."[2] Various names by which they are known are Butt, Dar, Rath r, Loan, Naik, Kakru etc. Gujjars speak Hindko and live on the fringe of the mountains of the Valley; Dums have sudra origin; Kakru families of Baramula are Ghakkar, and Baltis are descended from a branch of Sakas. Tibetans also form a part of the population. Kiratas, a people of the lower strata of society belong to Tibetan group.

Bambas, Chaks and Dards are supposed to have Turkish and Iranian ancestry while Buch are Mughals.

There are Syeds, Qureshis and Pathans also but in a small minority. Pathans are mostly of Yusufzai, Afridi and Khattak tribes "who came during the Durrani regime but many of them were invited by Gulab Singh who granted them jagirs for service on the frontier."[3]

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The historical background of Kashmir is identical with and similar to that of Pakistan. So is the case with the racial stock of its people. They are descended from the same groups of tribes which settled down from time to time in the various regions of Pakistan. Politically also, throughout known history, Kashmir was under Indian sovereignty only during the Maurya, the Muslim and the British periods. Otherwise, it either remained independant, or was ruled by Pakistan-based dynasties, or sometimes its lf ruled over parts of Pakist n.

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1. *Two Nations and Kashmir By* Lord Birdwood.
2. *The Valley of Kashmir By* Walter R. Lawrence.
3. *Ibid.*

Geographically, Pakistan and Kashmir are inseparable with a contiguity of rivers and a mountain system that no power, however mighty, can alter. Nature has devised a compact land mass watered by Indus and its tributaries covering a thousand-mile-long territory from the slopes of the Karakoram Range to the shores of the Arabian Sea.

Religion and culture have welded the inhabitants of this land mass into a single community with common aspirations and objectives and a thought-pattern distinct from others.

A brief historical background of this northern region of Pakistan known as Kashmir shall be attemped here. I shall not dilate on the fascinating beauty of Kashmir nor on the events leading to the forcible occupation of a portion of the state by India in 1947. Since vast literature is available on these subjects, I shall confine myself to a brief review of its past, highlighting certain aspects which have a bearing on the present-day politics of the region both from national and international point of view.

INDIA KNEW LITTLE ABOUT KASHMIR

Indians had hardly any knowledge about Kashmir. They merely knew of its existence as a land somewhere in the north-western regions. "Strangely enough the knowledge of ancient India about Kashmir was extremely meagre. Panini, Patanjali and others had only heard of Kashmir; the Puranas were able to locate the country in the northern region. Sri Harsa, the writer of Ratnavali was aware of the high quality of the saffron produced in Kashmir. But that was all they knew and the early Indian sources tell us of the Valley little more."[4]

"The name of Kashmir does not occur in the Vedic literature. In the Rigvedic hymns mention is made of a river called the Marudvrdha. In Sanskrit literature, the earliest reference to Kashmir is found in Panini's grammar and in Patanjali's commentary on it. The Mahabharata refers in several passages to Kashmir and their king, but in a way which merely indicates that the Valley was situated in hilly regions to the north of India.

"The earliest note on Kashmir by foreigners is found in the writings of Hecateus who refers to Kaspapyros, the city of the Gandarians. Herodotus mentions the city of Kaspapyros as the place at which embanked the expedition under Scylax, sent by Darius to explore the course of the Indus and distinctly places it in the Paktyan land.

4. *Early History and Culture of Kashmir By* Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray.

"The first anchorage in the political history of Kashmir is furnished by the rule of Asoka. It is difficult to trace the events that had taken place earlier."[5]

But Kashmir can claim the distinction of being the only region of this sub-continent which possesses an uninterrupted series of written records of its history, reaching back beyond the period of the Muslim conquest and deserving the name of real chronicles. "In other parts of India, history student is obliged to reconstruct the original outlines of the country's history with the help of the scanty and frequently uncertain data or a patient examination of inscriptions, coins, and occasional references that literary works may reveal. And he can scarcely ever hope to recover a continuous account of the leading events for a couple of centuries. If the student of Kashmirian history finds himself in a far better position, this is due to the preservation of the documents alluded to; they testify to the continued existence among the population of the Valley of that genuine historical sense in which the Indian mind on the whole is so conspicuously deficient.

"The most important document is the Rajatarangini of the Kashmirian poet Kalhana. It comprises, in eight cantos of Sanskrit verse, the history of the various dynasties which ruled Kashmir from the earliest period down to the time of the author who began to write this work in A.D. 1148, in the reign of King Jayasimha. It can be accepted as a reliable record from the seventh century A.D. onwards which steadily increases in detail and interest as we approach the time of the author.

"And Kalhana's work was continued by Pandit Jonaraja, who, writing in professed imitation of his predecessor's style and method, brought down the history of the Valley through the troubled times of the last Hindu dynasties and the first Muhammadan rulers to the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abedin who ascended the throne in 1420 A. D."[6]

Among Muslim writers Al-Biruni was the first to give a detailed and correct account of the geography, culture and literature of Kashmir.

From these accounts if a history of Kashmir is reconstructed, it would appear that invariably it was the same as that of other parts of Pakistan.

PAK-KASHMIR COMMON HISTORY

Part of Persian Empire: When the Iranian monarch, Cyrus, of the Achaemenean (Kayani) dynasty conquered Pakistan, Kashmir was included in his conquests.

5. *Ibid.*
6. *The Valley of Kashmir By* Walter R. Lawrance.

The Persian invasion took place in the sixth century B. C. From the accounts of the Greek historians Cyrus appears to have subjugated the tribes of the Paropanisus and the Kabul Valley, especially the Gandhara. In the Behistun inscription of Darius, Gadara, i.e., Gandhara is mentioned as one of the provinces of his empire. Generally speaking Gandhara denotes the region comprising the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi. But sometimes it also includes Kashmir and we have already noted that Hecataeus of Miletus who was a contemporary of Cyrus and Darius refers to Kaspapyros i.e. Kashmir as a Gandaric city.

Under the Mauryas Next we learn that Kashmir, along with Pakistan and Afghanistan, had become a part of the Mauryan Empire. The capital of this huge province was Taxila. From Asoka's time Kashmir became the biggest centre of Buddhism and it was from here that this religion spread to Tibet, Sinkiang and China. It is also believed that the city of Srinagar was founded by Asoka.

"The Emperor Asoka's rule in Kashmir is the first great landmark in the history of this country which was then governed through a deputy who had his seat of government at Taxila.

"Buddhism, offering a higher morality and persuasive argument at the same time, disarmed Brahmin opposition and spread rapidly. It very deeply affected the Kashmiri character. The extraordinary patience that the Kashmiri shows under the severest visitations of nature such as cholera and earthquake is clearly traceable to this early Buddhist influence. The outside appearance of most of the present-day Muslim shrines is not unlike that of Buddhist pagodas though all details are entirely Saracenic. Buddhism lingered on in the Valley right up to the time of Kalhana who was himself an admirer of Buddha."[7]

"It appears that Buddha schism was known in Kashmir at a very early period and possibly preceded the introduction of a fully organised Brahmanical priesthood, it probably, in short, preceded the introduction of the Brahmanical caste."[8]

Sakas: Next, we know of Saka invasions in the 1st century B. C. It was a mass migration of tribes from Central Asia and northern Iran who conquered Pakistan and Kashmir and made these regions their permanent home. Among other tribes of Kashmir Baltis are considered descendants of Sakas.

7. *Kashir By* G.M.D. Soofi.

8. *Hindu History of Kashmir By* H. H. Wilson.

Kushans: Sakas were followed by Kushans who were a branch of the Central Asian tribe of Yue-chi. This was in the first century A. D. All accounts indicate that the Kushans, with their capital at Peshawar, ruled over Kashmir, and Buddhism held sway over the country as in other parts of Pakistan.

"Kalhana's account of Turuska rulers indicates without doubt the Kushan occupation of the Valley. Of the three kings metioned by him, Huska may be identified with Huvishka, Juska with Vasiska and Kaniska with Kanishka I & II, more accurately with the former. Each of them is credited with the foundation of a town. These, christened after their names were called Huskapura, Juskapura and Kaniskapura. The towns still exist. Besides, the princes are said to have built many 'mathas', 'saityas' and other similar structures almost all of which seem to have perished. According to the Chronicler, the Valley of Kashmira was under the influence of the Buddhists during Turuska rule. This is what we also learn from Hiuen Tsang. The poet-historian assigns the celebrated Buddhist preacher Nagarjuna to this period."[9] Kanishka is said to have held the great council of Buddhism in Srinagar. Several such councils were held in Kashmir during the Kushan period.

The Huns· Kashmir did not escape the great holocaust of the 5th century A. D. i. e. the Hun invasion. According to all available information, Kashmir was the most affected region during this period with the Hun rulers and tribes taking asylum in the Valley. "In fact of all regions of India, it is in the secluded Valley only that the Huns could find a ready shelter."[10] The Hun king Mehar Gul's rule over Kashmir is testified both by Huen Tsang and Kalhana. "Under Mehar Gul's father, Toramana, the Hun Empire had been established in the latter half of the 5th century in Afghanistan and western India (Pakistan); Mehar Gul succeeded in 510 A.D. and conquered Kashmir in 528 A.D. Mehar Gul's reign was followed by other Hun rulers."[11] They had their capital at Sakala which is supposed to be either present-day Sialkot or Sangla Hill in Sheikhupura District.

"It was during these troublous times of Huns, it is believed that Kali Das, one of the greatest poets of India, was born in Kashmir. He flourished during the latter half of the 5th or the first half of the sixth century A.D. The date is assisgned to Kali Das on the basis of his

9. *Early History and Culture of Kashmir By* S.C. Ray
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Kashir By* G.M.D. Soofi.

reference to the Huns in Kashmir in the Raghuvamsha. It is pointed out that Kali Das left his home in Kashmir during the unsettled days of its occupation by the Huns."[12]

The last foreign tribe from Central Asia to settle in Pakistan and Kashmir in pre-Muslim period was that of the Gujjars who followed the Huns and are generally considered part of the Hun stock.

COMMON STOCK

Thus, before Muslim conquest the tribes that settled in Kashmir were the same as those who made Pakistan and Afghanistan their home. The present-day Kashmiris, therefore, are descended from Sakas, Kushans, Huns and Gujjars as are the Pathans/Afghans, Punjabis, Sindhis and Baluchis. "In the present population of Kashmir, the Gujjars, Rajputs and the Jats, all hailing from the Gurjara stock predominate................. Gurjara emigration into Kashmir might have taken place from north Punjab, presumably during Karkota period when parts of Punjab were included in the Kashmiri Empire."[13]

"The majority of the Kashmiri people possess a light transparent brown skin and are usually of medium to tall stature. They have a well developed forehead, a long narrow face, regular features and a prominent, straight and finely cut nose. *The same type is found among the people of Afghanistan, Chitral, Balti and northern Punjab.*"[14]

After this brief discussion regarding the common stock of the people of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Kashmir, we shall probe into the origin of the name Kashmir.

There are various theories on this subject. According to one, Kashmir is a combination of the words Ka and Samira which means a land from which ka (water) has been drained off by samira (wind). A second version is that it is a compound of the words kas and mir which mean channel & mountain respectively. Thus, Kashmir would convey the sense of a rock trough, which it is. A third theory considers that the country was named after its early settlers, a Semitic tribe of Jewish origin called Kash. They are also supposed to have founded the cities of Kashan and Kashgar.

The earliest Chinese reference to the Valley is in 541 A.D. which spells it Ku-sheh-m . However, according to Sir Auriel Stein, linguistic science can furnish no clue to its origin nor even analyse its determinants.

12. *Ibid.*
13. *Early History and Culture of Kashmir By* S. C. Ray.
14. *Ibid.*

The inhabitants of the Valley itself pronounce the word as Kashir, which, according to Stein, is the direct phonetic derivative of Kashmir with the loss of m. In the words Kashur or Koshur which are used for the inhabitants of Kashmir and its language u replaces I.

As regards Kashmiri language, the researches of Sir George Grierson prove that the Kashmiri language belongs to the Dardic and not the Sanskrit group. "It is now definitely known that Pushtu is a member of the eastern branch of the Iranian family, and that Kashmiri too belongs to the Iranian group. Hence there must be some affinity between Pushtu and Kashmiri."[15].

Considered from any point cf view; historical, geographical, racial, linguistic, Kashmir forms an integral part of the regions today known as Afghanistan and Pakistan. It has hardly any common factors with India.

THE KARKOTA DYNASTY

To resume the thread of history, a hundred years after the Hun conquest, Kashmir had a powerful dynasty of the Karkotas which had a fairly long spell of rule from early 7th century to the middle of the 9th century A.D. (625-855 A.D.). The founder of this dynasty was Durla Bhavardhan (625-655 A.D.) but the chronology of its rulers is disputed. It was during this period that Mohammad Bin Qasim conquered Pakistan and the Chinese sources state that Chandrapida, who was the ruler of Kashmir at the time, sought Chinese aid against the Arabs.

Karkota period is one of the most glorious and remarkable in Kashmir history. We are also fortunate to have from Kalhana a more detailed account from this period onward than of the previons one. The most powerful monarch of Karkota dynasty was Lalita Ditya who conquered a major portion of northern Punjab and part of northern India and Central Asia.

"When Huen Tsang visited the Valley in the middle of the 7th century A. D., he found all adjacent territories on the west and south, down to the plain, under the sway of the king of Kasmira. He clearly regards that Taksasila to the east of the Indus, Urasa or Hazara, Simhapura or salt range, with the smaller hilly states of Rajapuri and Parnotsa, have been subject to Kasmira. In the middle of the 8ht century A. D., Lalita Ditya conquered territories as far as Kanauj in the east and his grandson

15. *Kashir By* G.M.D. Soofi.

Jayapida is said to have had trials of strength with the rulers of Kanauj, Gauda and Nepal."[16]

"The political power of Kashmir extended to all the adjacent territories on the west and south including Rajapuri (Rajauri), Parnotsa (Punjab), Bhimbar, Urasa (Hazara), Taxila and Simhapura, which seem to have included the salt range."[17]

KASHMIR GETS CHINESE AID

Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray is of the view that the Karkota kings were able to expand their empire both to the north and the south because of Chinese aid. "According to Chinese testimony, in hundred years roughly extending from 650-750 A. D., a quadrangular fight was being fought between the Turks, Turfans, the Arabs and the Chinese for the possession of Central Asia. Since the Karkota kings of Kashmir were the allies of Chinese, the latter helped them get strong and conquer territories held by Turks and Turfans.

"It is apparent that Kashmir as a subordinate ally assisted China in her enterprises in that region. Chandrapida fought the Arabs because Chinese interests demanded it. Since China came in conflict with Tibet, the king of Kashmir had to block all the routes of the hill kingdom. Lalita Ditya's expeditions against the Tukaras and the Darads probably had the same objective in view, namely, to assist in the establishment of T'ang supremacy in those regions.

"It is true that Karkota Kashmir also adopted a policy of aggrandisement southwards i.e., in north Indian plains. But that was a corollary of her main policy, the conquest of the Himalyan powers. So long as the T'ang dynasty was in power, Kashmir evinced great strength but with the decline of the T'angs, came a change in the foreign policy of China. Domestic troubles compelled her to discontinue this policy. When the Chinese help ceased, Kashmir is no longer seen to carry on a policy of expansion."[18]

Dr. Ray's view may or may not be correct, but it is certain that the T'ang dynasty of China was deeply interested and involved in Kashmir affairs.

"First Chandrapida and then the great king Lalita Ditya, through their embassy to the Chinese court asked for aid from the Celestial Emperor and proposed an alliance against the rising power of the Arabs. During his numer-

16. *Early History and Culture of Kashmir By* S.C. Ray.
17. *Kashir By* G.M.D. Soofi.
18. *Early History and Culture of Kashmir By* S.C. Ray.

ous campaigns in Central Asia, Afghanistan and in western India (*i.e.*, Pakistan) Lalita Ditya and his army definitely came across and clashed with the armies of the Arabs and had thus an opportunity of coming in contact with the followers of the new faith."[19]

Another important point to be mentioned in connection with the Karkota dynasty, in addition to their alliance with the T'ang rulers of China, is the anti-Brahmin policy of most of its rulers. One of them, Jayapida (764-795 A.D.), is said to have drowned hundreds of Brahmins in rivers because of the intrigues they were indulging in. A second version is that since his wife had a love affair with a Brahmin, he killed a large number of Brahmins in revenge. Similarly, another king of the dynasty, Shankara Varman (883-902 A.D.) plundered the treasures of several temples and with their material built the town of Patan to perpetuate his own memory.

"During the rule of the weak successors of Lalita Ditya, Kashmir suffered defeat at the hands of Arabs. Baladhuri says that in the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur, his Governor of Sind, Hisham ibn Amr-al Taghlibi conquered Kashmir obtaining many prisoners and slaves (768-72 A. D.) Kitab Futuhul Buldan".[20]

After the end of the Karkota regime in 955 A.D. the next important event occurs during the Ghaznavid period. When Mahmud Ghaznavi was fighting the Hindu Shahi Rajas of Punjab, NWFP and northern Afghanistan, the ruler of Kashmir also sent an army under General Tunga to oppose him. But Tunga was defeated and according to the historian, Nizamuddin, Mahmud conquered the Valley. He is said to have entered Kashmir for the second time in 1015 A.D. but did not retain its control which was later acquired by local rulers.

Between the fall of the Karkota dynasty and the establishment of Muslim rule under the Shah Miri Sultans, Kashmir did not enjoy peace and prosperity. In 1099 A.D. it suffered immense loss, both in men and material, due to floods and famine followed by plague. Considerable part of the population is said to have perished and the remaining were impoverished.

The Lohan dynasty which ruled during this period did not have a commendable record. "The history of the two succeeding centuries *i.e.*,

19. *A History of Kashmir By* Prithivi Nath Kaul Bamazai
20. *Early History and Culture of Kashmir By* S.C. Ray.

12th and 13th A.D. is a sordid record of short reigns, murders, suicides, plots, conspiracies, rebellions, oppressions and fiscal exactions."

But this period witnessed the birth of a number of great poets: Kshemendra, Bilhana, Mammata, Mankha, Kalhana etc.

Then the long struggle between the Buddhists and the Brahmins for power brought further destruction and sapped the energies of the people. Coupled with this were the cruel deeds of wicked Rajas and vicious Ranis. "All things point to a breaking up of the Hindu kingdom and in 1305 A. D. when Raja Simha Deva was king, Kashmir was a country of drunkards and gamblers and the women were also no better than they should be".[21]

Hindu rule in Kashmir terminated with the close of the reign of Raja Suha Deva, whom Jonaraja calls "this Rakshasa" or demon of a king", and adds that he "devoured" the country "for nineteen years, three months and twenty-five days" (1300 to 1320 A.D.). Consequently administration was paralysed.

At this period though Islam had spread all along its boundaries in the north (Sinking), west (Afghan areas) and south (Punjab), Kashmir was still largely Hindu-Buddhist. The news of the misdeeds of its Hindu rulers had spread far and wide and it lay open to attack from all sides.

During the latter part of Simha Deva's reign Kashmir witnessed two invasions: One from the west and another from the east. From the west it was invaded by a Turkish commander known as Dulcha. He is said to have come with 60,000 troops and, according to Abul Fazal, was the commander of the king of Qandahar. Dulcha conquered Kashmir and after an occupation of eight months decided to return. But he and his forces are said to have perished on the way due to snow and storms.

As a result of Dulcha's invasion and occupation, chaos prevailed in Kashmir. The ruler, Simha Deva had died and his brother Suha Dev was king. The commander-in-Chief, Ramchand, restored order in the country with the assistance of a Muslim, Shah Mir who helped Suha Dev in re-establishing his authority over the whole of Kashmir and in ushering in prosperity. "A brave soldier, he was probably of much service to the king in expanding his authority throughout the length and breadth of Kashmir."[22]

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21. *The Valley of Kashmir By* Walter R. Lawrence.

22. *Early History and Culture of Kashmir By* S. C. Ray.

Another attack was from the east by a Tibetan prince of Laddakh Rinchana who, with the help of Tibetan soldiers defeated and killed Ramchand, married his daughter Kota Rani and proclaimed himself king in 1320 A.D. appointing Shah Mir as his Vazir.

"Rinchana retained the service of Shah Mir and with his help conquared the whole of Kashmir".[23]

There are different versions regarding the arrival of these persons in Kashmir. One of them says:

"While Kashmir was being ruled by Raja Simha Dev, three notable personalities came to his court. These were Ranchan Shah, Prince of Tibet who was driven off by his uncle; Lankar Chak, ruler of Dardistan who was beaten by his enemies, and Shah Mir, grandson of a famous hermit, Fur Shah. The King sympathised with their miseries and took them under service."[24]

RINCHANA ACCEPTS ISLAM

Rinchana is a colourful figure in Kashmir's history. Himself a Lamaist he was very much interested in religious books and is said to have studied Hinduism, Buddhism as well as Islam. The last religion appealed to him most which he embraced at the hands of a saint, Syed Bilal, popularly known as Bulbul Shah. According to a story, Rinchana was in doubt as to which religion to accept. One night he saw a dream asking him to accept the faith of the person whom he saw first in the morning. When he awoke and went out, he found Hazrat Bulbul Shah offering prayers. Rinchana at once accepted Islam at his hands. It is believed that he was already well disposed towards Islam because of his contacts with Shah Mir who was a sincere friend and a brave soldier. Rinchana, who assumed the title of Sultan Sadruddin, was the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir. According to a tradition, with the conversion of Rinchana, his brother-in-law and Commander-in-Chief and about ten thousands people embraced Islam.

After ruling for hardly three years, Sultan Sadruddin (Rinchana) died in 1323 A.D. and was succeeded by his infant son Haider Khan with his wife Kota Rani acting as Queen Regent.

At this stage Kota Rani, who had feigned to become Muslim during her husband's life, changed her religion, called back the previous Hindu king's brother Udyana Dev who had fled the country, married him and enthroned him as king of Kashmir. Udyana Dev ruled for a pretty long

23. *Kashmir, Laddakh & Gilgit By* R. C. Arora.
24. *Ibid.*

time 1323-38 A.D. During this period Shah Mir served the rulers faithfully, was responsible for maintaining law and order in the country, for expanding its frontiers and for strengthening its forces.

A few quotations about the services rendered by Shah Mir to the cause of Kashmir would be relevant here:

"At this time, Urwan, a Turk, attacked Kashmir. Udyana Dev fled, but Kota Rani sent an army under Shah Mir who defeated the foe. Udyana Dev returned and ruled for 15 years. On his death Kota Rani assumed power."[25]

"After a short period of two years and a half, this Muslim king (Rinchana) died on Friday, 25th November, 1323 A.D. when Udyana Dev, brother of Simha Dev, succeeded him and married his widow. At that time, Kashmir was invaded by Achala whom, to use Jonaraja's words, "the lord of Magadha Pura had supplied with soldiers." The king, Udyana Dev, like his brother fled away before this invasion. Shah Mir, his vazir, defended the kingdom successfully in his absence. The Raja returned and reigned in Kashmir as a mere cypher to the Shah Mir who was all-powerful."[26]

After the death of Udyana Dev in 1338 A.D. his wife Kota Rani assumed full powers. She was distinctly biased against Muslims. Instead of recognising Shah Mir's services and giving him highest post in the country which he deserved, Kota Rani appointed Bhik Shena as Chief Minister. This was greatly resented by Shah Mir who revolted and set himself up as the ruler of Kashmir in 1339 A.D. assuming the title of Sultan Shamsuddin. He was the first ruler of the Shah Mir dynasty which ruled over Kashmir for over 200 years from 1339-1555 A.D.

SHAH MIRI DYNASTY

The ushering in of Muslim rule was a tremendous boon to Kashmir and a great respite to its people after the devastation caused by Hindu-Buddhist struggle for power and by the profligacy of its Hindu rulers.

"The people had been groaning under the misrule of the later Hindu rulers when trade languished and agriculture was at a stand-still. To add to the misery there were the crushing burdens of rites and rituals which the dominating Brahmins had laid upon the common man.

"The Kashmiris were not, therefore, averse to the rule of Shah Mir and his immediate successors who, to their great relief, gave them a clean

25. *The Valley of Kashmir By* Walter R. Lawrence.
26. *Kashir By* G.M.D. Soofi.

administration under which trade revived, agriculture flourished, the burden of taxation was lightened and life and property were rendered secure. In fact under Sultan Shihabuddin, the material traditions of the imperial Karkotas were revived and Kashmir was again respected and feared by the rulers of adjacent territories."[27]

According to G.M.D. Soofi: "Sultan Shihab-ud-Din's reign (1354-73 A.D.) represents the most glorious period of the sovereignty of the Shah Miri dynasty. It was the period of military prowess shown by the Kashmiris. Shihab-ud-Din was the first of the Kashmiri Muslim monarchs who marched out with the purpose of making foreign conquests. From this point of view Shihab-ud-Din in Kashmir history figures next to Lalita Ditya.

"Shortly after his accession, Shihab-ud-Din thoroughly reorganised his military forces. The composition of Kashmiri armies must have been furnished by people from the hill-country of Punch, Rajauri, Budil (on the route from Srinigar to Akhnur), and the areas between Muzaffarabad and Baramula—called Kuhistan or the Highlands of Kashmir.

"Shihab-ud-Din conquered Tibet, consisting of great Tibet or Laddakh, and Little Tibet or Baltistan from the ruler of Kashghar. Kishtwar and Jammu were added. He then proceeded with an army consisting of 50,000 horse and 5,00,000 foot through the Punjab, and encamped on the banks of the Indus where he was opposed by the Jam of Sind (Brigg's Firishta, Volume IV, page 458) whom he completely defeated.

"The defeat of the Jam was so crushing that, when the report reached the kingdoms of Qandahar and Ghazni, the rulers of those places became apprehensive, lest he should next make a descent upon them. Shihab-ud-Din, however, took Und, Ohind or Waihind. At Peshawar he defeated the Afghans and put to death many of the inhabitants who opposed him. Thence he marched through the passes of the Hindu-kush subduing Kashghar, Badakshan and Kabul."

During these two centuries of rule by Shah Miri dynasty, Kashmir witnessed an era of peace and prosperity and made progress in every field of life. Literary work, both Persian and Sanskrit, reached its zenith and Hindus as well as Buddhists enjoyed full religious freedom. The dynasty produced an outstanding ruler like Sultan Zainul Abedin who reigned for half a century from 1420-70 A.D. and is compared to Akber. He himself was a great scholar of Persian and Sanskrit, translated the well-

27. *A History of Kashmir By* Prithivi Nath Kaul Bamazai.

known chronicle Rajatarangini into Persian as Bahr-ul-Asmar—the sea of tales. (Later on Akber ordered Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni to revise this version).

"In the matter of architecture, Zain-ul-Abedin might be called the Shah Jehan of Kashmir. He invited artisans and craftsmen from Iran, Turan and Hindustan and offered them good prospects and concessions to settle down in Kashmir. Zain-ul-Abedin's patronage of various arts and crafts contributed very largely to the material and economic progress of the country and considerably increased its reputation. The products of Kashmir industries were greatly appreciated abroad and fetched high prices.

"Zainu ul-Abedin, whose name is sanskritized as Jaina, and whom Jonaraja calls Sri Jainollabhadina, was a student of Sanskrit, and also a patron of Sanskrit learning and occasionally a pilgrim to the ancient tirthas of the Valley. During his peaceful reign Hindu traditions re-asserted themselves while the country enjoyed prosperity."[28]

It was during Shah Miri dynasty that the preaching of Islam was launched by the sufis on a large scale. Conversions had started earlier as in the case of Rinchana (Sultan Sadruddin) who along with several thousand persons had accepted Islam at the hands of Bulbul Shah.

"By the time Suha Dev (1301-20 A.D.) ascended the throne of Kashmir, a fair proportion of the people had already accepted Islam. Islam's influence and teachings had penetrated into the Valley long before a Muslim king ascended the throne......"[29] Hazrat Jalaluddin Bukhari also did considerable work in Kashmir and after a short stay returned to Uch in Bahawalpur where he is buried. Among other great sufis of Kashmir are Syed Ali Hamdani, Syed Hussain Simnani, Syed Tajuddin, Shaikh Nuruddin, Shaikh Shamsuddin Iraqi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, Syed Shah Fariduddin Qadiri etc. Shaikh Shamsuddin Iraqi (1487 A.D.) is said to have converted thousands of Buddhists and Hindus.

The general allegation that Sultan Sikander (1389-1413 A.D.) who was the fifth ruler of the Shah Miri dynasty, destroyed temples and forcibly converted Brahmins is now considered highly exaggerated. Malik Suhabhatta, Sikandar's minister, appears to be responsible for the destruction of a few temples that took place in Sikandar's reign as Sikandar himself was an infant at his accession. In the words of Sir T.W. Arnold,

28. *Kashir By* G.M.D. Soofi.

29. *A History of Kashmir By* Prithivi Nath Kaul Bamazai

Suhabhatta set on foot a fierce persecution of the adherents of his old faith: this, he did, probably, in order to show his zeal for his new religion. "Sikandar", writes Ranjit Sitaram Pandit, "had married a Hindu lady named Sri Shobha and was at first tolerant in religion like his predecessors but his powerful Hindu minister, Suhabhatta who became an apostate, hated his former co-religionists with the hatred of a new convert.

Nowhere in the world conversions to Islam have been effected by sword. Great western scholars like Sir Thomas Arnold, Sir Auriel Stein, A. J. Toynbee and others have conclusively proved that Islam was spread by the sufis and not by the soldiers of Islam. Same was the case in Kashmir. To quote Sir Auriel Stein: "Islam made its way into Kashmir not by forcible conquest but by gradual conversion ..The adoption of Islam by the great mass of the population began towards the close of Hindu rule and became an accomplished fact during the latter half of the 14th century A.D."

Stein further says that as early as the 12th century of the christian era the conversion of the Dard tribes from Buddhism to Islam had already made great progress. This was about two centuries before the time of Rinchana who became Sultan Sadruddin and the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir.

It will noticed that like the people of Pakistan and Bangla Desh, Kashmiris had accepted Buddhism in large numbers when that religion was introduced here. Similarly, during Kanishka's reign Kashmir was the greatest and most important centre of Buddhism. According to Stein: "Buddhism seems to have lingered on Kashmir till the time of Muhammedan conquest." This phenomena, which is common to Pakistan and Bangla Desh, proves that Hinduism had never taken deep roots in Kashmir. The people of Kashmir discarded Hinduism whenever they had an opportunity, as did the people of Pakistan and Bangla Desh.

However, by the beginning of the 16th century the Shah Miri dynasty began to show signs of decay. From the death of Hasan Shah, the 9th king of the dynasty in 1484 A.D. to the last ruler Hassan Shah 1555 A.D. a period of 70 years, there were ten kings. The Mughal commander Haider Dughlat conquered many parts of the kingdom and there was general confusion. Taking advantage of the state of affairs a person of the Chak clan assumed power and declared himself ruler of Kashmir under the title of Ghazi Shah in 1555 A.D. He had Dardic origin. Ghazi Chak reconquered several territories from Haider Dughlat and restored law and order. The

third ruler of this dynasty Hussain Shah (1563-70 A.D.) became a Shia and unfortunately ushered in an era of Shia-Sunni rivalry and bitterness in the State. The Chak dynasty lasted only for 32 years till 1587 when Akbar conquered Kashmir. Chaks, however, continued their struggle even after Mughal conquest but never succeeded in re-establishing their rule. Yusuf Chak, their leader was exiled to Bihar where he was given the rank of 500 horse and placed under the Governor Man Singh.

MUGHAL AND DURRANI RULES

After the decline of the Mauryan Empire some 1800 years earlier in 200 B.C., it was the first time that Kashmir was subjugated by a northern Indian Govenrment—the Mughals.

"Though it was but seldom till the time of the Moghuls that the plains of India politically dominated the Kashmirian uplands and equally it was only on rare occasions that the monarchs of Kashmir tried to penetrate into the plains."[30]

The Mughal rule in Kashmir lasted 165 years from 1587-1752 A.D. During most of this period Kashmir was well governed and had peace and prosperity. Several Mughal kings took keen interest in the development of this province and were enchanted by its beauty and bracing climate. Akber visited it thrice and brought his Revenue Minister Todar Mall who organised its revenue system on a rational basis. Jehangir, who had the greatest fascination for Kashmir, visited the province six times during his reign and twice earlier with his father.

Shah Jehan went to Kashmir four times and always appointed his best administrators as governors. Zafar Khan and Ali Mardan among them were exceptionally good and left their mark on the History of Kashmir. Aurangzeb, because of his pre-occupation in the Deccan and elsewhere could not pay more than one visit to this beautiful province. But he was always solicitous of the well-being of its people and kept himself posted with the conditions there. Aurangzeb's successors also paid visits to the province and continued to make some contribution or other to the progress of Kashmir.

"The Mughals no doubt ushered in an era of peace and prosperity and broke the isolation of the Valley which subjected it to a further impact of powerful influences from the rest of the country."[31]

30. *Early History and Culture of Kashmir By* Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray.
31. *A History of Kashmir By* Prithivi Nath Kaul Bamazai

[It was during one of Farrukh Siyar's visits that Pandit Raj Kaul, a scholar of Sanskrit and Persian attracted the Emperor's attention and at his instance he and his family migrated to Delhi about 1716 A.D. Later they settled in Allahabad and came to be known as the Nehru family which produced such luminaries as Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indra Gandhi. It may be recalled that women have played an important role in Kashmir history. Sugandha, Didda, Suryamati and Kota Rani have left their mark as rulers of great distinction.]

With the decline of the Mughal Empire conditions in Kashmir deteriorated creating chaos, corruption and mal-administration. However, it was conquered along with other regions of Pakistan by Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1752.

Kashmir remained under the Durranis for 67 years from 1752 to 1819. Here it may be pointed out that wherever Afghan/Pathan kings ruled in this sub-continent they proved highly efficient and were extremely popular. They were broad-minded, tolerant and always cared for the well-being of the masses. But Kashmir was unfortunate in this respect. Durrani governors were harsh and rapacious and hardly cared for the woes and sufferings of the common man. Kashmiris were unhappy with their rule and prayed for emancipation.

But, instead of getting emancipated, a greater tragedy befell them. It was conquered in 1819 A.D. by a much more cruel and greedy people—the Sikhs. With the passage of time conditions deteriorated and the once prosperous Kashmiris were reduced to penury. Added to the atrocities perpetrated by human beings, Kashmir became a victim of natural calamities. It was during Sikh rule that as a result of recurring famines Muslims emigrated in large numbers from this famished land and settled in the towns and cities of northern Punjab.

The sufferings and privations of Kashmiris that started in the middle of the 18th century with the decline of the Mughal Empire continue to this day, covering a span of more than two centuries. The next period of Dogra rule is as gruesome as the previous one of Sikha Shahi. The ensuing developments shall be briefly narrated here.

As has been related in another chapter, the internal strife for power among Durranis in Afghanistan cost them dear. The overthrow of the Popalzai branch of Ahmed Shah's descendants by the Barakzais under the leadership of Painda Khan's sons took quite some time. Before Dost Mohammad Khan (Barakzai) was able to consolidate his position, Ranjit

Singh had become quite powerful in Punjab, had declarad himself independent of the Afghan Government and was poised for attack on Kashmir. While Azim Khan, the Durrani Governor of Kashmir was away in Afghanistan to help one of the factions there, Sikh forces attacked Kashmir, routed the Afghan army under the acting Governor Jabbar Khan and occupied the State in 1819 A.D. It is interesting to note that though Sikhs conquered Kashmir, yet due to some superstition, Ranjit Singh himself never entered the State.

UNDER SIKHS AND DOGRAS

As already stated, Kashmir suffered untold miseries under the Sikhs. Both economically and politically Kashmiris were reduced to extreme poverty. They revolted several times but were ruthlessly suppressed. After the death of Ranjit Singh, to placate Muslims, the Sikhs appointed a Muslim, Shaikh Ghulam Mohiuddin, as Governor of Kashmir in 1842 A.D. There was a ray of hope for the Kashmiris and it was believed that conditions would improve. Things had, indeed, taken a turn for the better. In 1843 the new Governor opened the Jam-e-Masjid whose gates had been closed since Sikh occupation in 1819 and several other measures were being adopted for ameliorating the grievances of Muslims. In 1845 Imamuddin became Governor of Kashmir. But next year some important developments took place which dashed the hopes of Kashmiri Muslims and again threw them into the dark abyss from which they have not been able to extricate themselves yet.

This time the villains of the piece were not the Sikhs but the British. It must be said to the credit of the Sikhs that realising the sentiments of Muslims they had started appointing Muslims as Governors of Kashmir. This process or tradition would and should have continued, but the British put a stop to it and deliberately handed over this beautiful region inhabited by Muslims to a Hindu.

The related events shall be briefly recapitulated here:

After the defeat of the Sikhs at Sobraon in February 1846 it was set forth that the British Government having demanded in addition to a certain assignment of territory, a payment of one and a half crore rupees and the Sikh Government being unable to pay the whole, the Maharajah (Dhulip Singh) should cede as equivalent for one crore rupees, the hill country belonging to the Punjab between the Beas and the Indus including Kashmir and Hazara. The Governor-General Sir Henry Hardinge considered it expedient to assign Kashmir to the Jammu Chief securing his friendship while the British

Government was administering the Punjab on behalf of the young Maharajah. By the Treaty of Amritsar, March 16, 1846 the State of Jammu & Kashmir was created by the British with Gulab Singh as its first Maharajah.

It may be recalled that after the establishment of the Muslim dynasty of Shah Miri Sultans in 1339 A.D., Hindus got back Kashmir over five hundred years later in 1846 A.D. It was presented to them on a platter by the British for a paltry sum of Rs. 75 lacs. But the British perfidy does not stop here.

The then Governor of Kashmir, Imamuddin, refused to recognise this deal. He fought Gulab Singh when he came to take over charge and defeated his forces! It was a clear case of Muslim Kashmir having defeated and rejected a Hindu Raja and Kashmir's fate should have been decided on the outcome of this war. But instead, a British force moved in and made Imamuddin surrender!! Here I consider it neccessary to quote a British author on this subject: "Imamuddin did not give up Kashmir without a struggle and for some time fighting went on in Srinagar. He called in brave Sher Ahmed and his Bambas and invested the Hari-parbat fort for forty days. Maharajah Gulab Singh's troops were defeated and his representative Lakpat Rai was killed. At this juncture a British force moved into Jammu territory and Imamuddin surrendered."[32]

This action changed the entire political pattern of the region whose consequences and repercussions are being felt even to this day. This one event more than any other is responsible for the strained relations between India and Pakistan and for the two Indo-Pak wars.

But why did the British deprive Kashmir of its Muslim Governor and deliberately handed it over to a Hindu? An answer shall be attempted here.

BRITISH GLOBAL POLICY

As is usual with big powers, they follow a global strategy and every decision they take is based on these considerations. Kashmir's strategic position is obvious. Both Chinese and Russian territories hover over its northern horizon. As today, both China (under the Manchus) and Russia (under the Czars) were big powers in the 19th century as well. But the British were more frightened of the Russian bear and had made it a cornerstone of their policy to keep their territories away from those of the

32. *They Valley of Kashmir By* Walter R. Lawrence.

Russians to avoid friction and a possible clash. As a result of this policy they had allowed Afghanistan to survive as a buffer state.

Now that after the Sikh defeat of 1846 British were poised to assume control of all the Sikh-dominated areas upto Khyber Pass in the west and the Karakoram in the north, they were faced with the unsavoury prospect of coming very close to the expanding empire of Czarist Russia in the north. To avoid this unpleasant development they could have allowed Muslim Governor of Kashmir to continue as a semi-independent ruler. But the Muslims of Kashmir had close affinities with the Muslims of Sinkiang and the Central Asian Turks. There were possibilities of their joining hands and presenting a united front which could attract the Muslims of Punjab, Sind, northern India etc. and pose a threat to the expanding British Empire.

Obviously, the British would not brook such a development. There were also possibilities of an independent or semi-independent Muslim ruler forming alliance with the Chinese or the Russians both of whom were interested in Kashmir and the regions now forming part of Pakistan. A Sikh ruler would also not be desirable since having been defeated twice Sikhs were not favourably inclined towards the British. The only alternative was to have a Hindu ruler in Kashmir who would not only prevent the formation of any Muslim front but be loyal to the British and thus ward off Russian or Chinese approaches.

Hence the decision to hand over Kashmir to Maharajah Gulab Singh and to send British forces to instal him as ruler when he was defeated by Imamuddin and the Bambas.

BIG POWERS' INTEREST IN KASHMIR & PAKISTAN

Here I shall reproduce a few passages from British authors which reveal the interest of Big Powers in Kashmir, Punjab and NWFP in the 19th century and earlier. They acquire greater significance in the context of present-day political developments in these regions.

* * * * *

"When Gulab Singh was awarded the Kashmir Valley and all the mountain territory eastward of River Indus and westward of Ravi in 1846, it was hoped that he would help to protect British India against possible enemies in the north. The annexation of the Punjab had destroyed for ever the Sikh menace but there remained the Afghan threat to tribal areas north of Peshawar, and there was always the possibility of encroachments in the north-east from Chinese Turkistan.

Above all, with the mid-century advance of Russia on the Tashkand line, a new and more dangerous threat to the Indian northern frontier began to reveal itself. In a nutshell, British imperial policy towards Kashmir in the later 19th century was simply the attempt to employ that kingdom as the guardian of the northern frontier without the hostility, expenses and added responsibilities which its annexation would involve."

* * * *

"Russian agents and traders had been interested in Kashmir for a long time, and there was plenty of evidence that the interest was mutual."

* * * *

"Col. Gordon had been the first to sketch a scheme of defence for the northern frontier based on Gilgit and it was designed to meet the danger of a Russian advance across the Pamirs and over the easy Yasin passes."

"That the Russians threatened Chitral but that they could be checked from Gilgit was Durand's view."

* * * *

"The news diaries were full of a rumoured Russian advance towards Chitral in conjuction with a bridge across the Oxus and a projected road through Wakhan towards the Chitral passes."

* * * *

"Rumours of Russian intrigue in Chitral had been heard for a long time, but now a direct Russian intervention in the three-cornered Afghan-Jandul-Chitral struggle became a real possibility."

* * * *

"For the first time there was a real danger that Safdar Ali might introduce a Russian force into Hunza within a few marches of Gilgit. The subjugation of Hunza and Nagar was the most striking and effective riposte which the Indian Government made to the Russian claim to advance its territory upto the Hindu Kush passes. Chitral and Hunza were warned not to let any Russians across the passes and forces of Gilgit agency were augmented."

* * * *

"The 1893 events in Chitral, in contrast with the calm in Hunza and the more accessible parts of the Gilgit Agency, made it much more urgent to keep the Russians away from the bend of the Oxus where they

would be only 12 miles from the Chitral passes. It was these passes which had most interested Ianov's military reconnaissance party in 1891."

* * * *

"In 1888 Gramachevsky, after entering Hunza examined the country at the back of the Kashmir frontier right up to Shahidulla. It was possible that Russia would drive a wedge between China and Kashmir and so, not only dominate the trade between the two but threaten Laddakh by the various caravan rutes which entered it."

* * * *

"If Chitral was evacuated, Indian Government agreed, it would fall to Russia whenever she chose to take it from the new position which the Pamir settlement had given her on the fertile bend of the Oxus."

* * * *

Experts said : "Think what the effect in India would have been when the Maharaja and his court, the Resident and any Europeans in the country, came tumbling out of Kashmir, flying from a Russian force, the strength of which no one could tell. There would have been no British troops within 200 miles of Kashmir, all eyes would have been turned to the Peshawar and Bolan fronts where our troops would have been massing, and the word would suddenly have gone forth that the Russians have turned our flank, they are in Kashmir and will be in the Punjab and on our line of communication in a week."

* * * *

"Almost every one of importance in India was convinced by 1892 that for political as well a military reasons, Russia would have to be met on the Kabul-Khandar line."

* * * *

"At the end of the 18th century, Catherine the Great had considered a plan for the invasion of India via Badakshan and Kashmir. Later, an invasion of Kashmir from Kashgar was sketched by the Russian General Fadeyev and another by General Abramov-through Badakshan, Yasin and Chitral..................Gen. Annenkov described how Russia would put 140,000 men into action along the Herat line."

* * * *

"If any part of India was susceptible to intrigue and a demonstration it was the northern frontier. Only here had Russia almost direct access to the troubled tribal area directly on India's frontier."

"The British felt that if they left any penetrable pass unguarded, or any potentially hostile tribe un-tended, Russians might move in. And so the expensive multiplication of roads and forts went on, each new advance further complicating and swelling the legacy of frontier delence."

* * * *

"The Government of India pointed out in 1890 that "Russian exploring parties now parade over the whole of the Pamirs, Chinese Turkistan and northern Tibet, and we have no means of watching their movements. In 1891 Russians precipitated a serious crisis with both the Chinese and the British by their activities on the Pamirs. Indian forces occuiped Hunza........................This led to a sharp deterioration of relations between the Chinese authorities in Kashgar and the Indian Government. A British expert Forsyth wrote: In real sober truth India is more vulnerable by Russia on the north than on any other side." —G. J. Alder.

* * * *

"Since the days of Tsar Ivan the Terrible 1533-84 Russia had been seeking an outlet to an ice-free open sea. Was not Karachi a tempting bait to dangle before eager Russian eyes? and could the transfer of Karachi from British to Pakistan hands have failed to suggest "dangerous thoughts to calculating Russian minds?" — Toynbee

* * * *

"Pakistan inherited from British India the geo-political headaches of defending the passes between central and western Asia and the subcontinent. As early as 1713, Peter the Great of Russia indicated a desire to rule India. In 1800 Tsar Paul and Napolean planned a joint invasion and the British strengthened their forces on India's north-west frontier. During World War I, Germany also made threatening gestures and the British rushed a railroad line from Quetta to Zahedan in Iran and fortified the valleys of the frontier.

"Control of the wealthy and strategic lands watered by the Indus would be the aim of many rulers west of the Sulaiman Mountains, from Alexander the Great to Napolean, Hitler and Stalin"—*Richard V. Weeks.*

THE SUFI MOVEMENT AND PAKISTAN

Progress in human life whether political, social or economic has depended upon and deeply indebted to the activities of a group of dedicated persons guided by leaders of exceptional qualities. The ushering in of the greatest monotheistic movement in history under the nomenclature of 'Islam' was possible and its success assured because of the sterling character, the imperishable faith and unfailing resolve of its leader, Prophet Mohammed, and his companions.

Muslim society has the distinction of initiating another unique movement in history which remains unparalleled by its wide-spread character covering the two continents of Asia and Africa; by the remarkable success it achieved in having its objectives fulfilled; by the enormous number of selfless workers it produced for the propagation of its ideals; by the depth of influence it exercised; by the revolutionary fervour it aroused, and by the indelible marks it left not only on Muslim society but on the Christian, Hindu and Buddhist societies as well. It provided succour and nourishment to such an extent that Muslims were able to withstand the Mongol catastrophy, fight it back with renewed vigour on religious plane and then to expand its horizons beyond the Sahara in Africa, across the Indus in India and over the oceans into Indonesia. This movement is known as "Sufism".

The beginning of sufi movement, its philosophy and the biographies of its leaders (saints) are too well-known, and dwelt upon at great length by a large number of scholars to be recapitulated here. I shall take up only those aspects which are relevant to our subject concerning the emergence of Pakistan. An important point to bear in mind is that *there would have been no Pakistan without the sufi movement.*

Pakistan and sufism are inter-related, inter-woven and inseparable from each other. If Pakistan's beginning is traced back to the conquest of this sub-continent by Muslim armies, as is erroneously done, then the whole sub-continent should have become Pakistan since Muslim arms were successful throughout the area. But Pakistan emerged only in those territories where sufism met with success. *Pakistan, therefore, can be described as the fruit of sufi movement.* "Pre-eminent among these problems relating to the life of the Muslim community in all regions since the twelfth century", writes Professor Gibb, "is the activity and influence of the sufi shaikhs and orders. It was into the sufi movement that the life blood of the community flowed ever more strongly. No adequate history of Islam can be written until it, with all its causes and effects, has been studied patiently and with scholarly integrity. In no region, moreover, is this study more fundamental

or more urgently required than in that of Islam in India" (*i.e.*, the subcontinent). He further says: "From the 13th century A.D. sufism increasingly attracted the creative social and intellectual energies within the community, to become the bearer or instrument of a social or cultural revolution."

In its early stages sufism was an individual affair confined to intellectuals and spiritualists with hardly any appeal to the masses. But with the passage of time it acquired new dimensions and began to deal with the mundane aspects of life as well. Its beginning, popularity and propagation have been attributed to many causes among which may be mentioned:

1. to free religious thought from the rigidity imposed by the ulema;
2. to emphasise in the Islamic teachings the element of God's love and mercy for His creation rather than His wrath and retribution;
3. to practise what one professes and not merely indulge in slogans and soliloques;
4. to stress the essence of faith rather than mere observance of formalities;
5. to move away towards rural areas from the evil and debilitating effects of wealth, monarchy and bureaucracy concentrated in big cities;
6. to demolish the edifice of false values based on pelf and power and restore morality to its proper place in the niche of Muslim society;
7. to combat the fissiparous tendencies and centrifugal forces which were spreading their tentacles in the Muslim world in the form of various heresies such as Ismaili and Carmathian teachings;
8. to discourage parochial feelings and eliminate racial pride which had assumed primary importance in Muslim thinking relegating the ideal of brotherhood to a secondary place etc.

These factors which gave birth to organised sufism were indeed serious ailments which had afflicted Muslim society for some time and had assumed menacing proportions by the 12th century A.D. It was easily discernible that Muslim political structure was crumbling and its entire moral and social fabric facing extinction. The most redeeming feature of this dark and dismal period was that this challenge was successfully met by the Muslim society from its own resources and from its own inherent strength by employing its own moral and intellectual weapons. The answer to this grave challenge was the sufi movement. Sufism gave a new lease of life to the Muslims, provided them with a bright vision, opened up fresh vistas for them, and guided them towards unexplored horizons. It was a glorious and splendid performance, unparalleled and unsurpassed in human history.

Hundreds of devoted workers left their hearths and homes, spread out over unknown regions hazarding strange climes and conditions with hardly any material resources to aid and assist them. Poverty and privation stalked their efforts while distance and inaccessibility stood in their way. But undaunted and undeterred they marched forward demolishing the distances, breaking the barriers, conquering the climes. And lo! they succeeded. What was the secret of their success? They had both strength of character and courage of conviction, were selfless and devoted to a cause.

SUFISM IN ORGANISED FORM

Sufism became organised, and adopted a form and institution in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. The two great pioneers in this field were Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani and Hazrat Shahabuddin Suhrawardy. By introducing the system of 'silsila' which was a sort of association/order, and takia/khankha, a lodge or hospice, they invested the movement with a sense of brotherhood and provided it with a meeting place. The 'silsila' and the takia/khankha were the king-pins of the organization. With a stream of selfless workers available and with no dearth of devoted and assiduous leadership, the movement made swift progress and spread far and wide.

It is incorrect to state that the sufis followed the Muslim conquerors in the sub-continent. They were here, though in small numbers, and had started their work even before the arrival and triumph of Muslim armies. "We now know that a sufi, Sh. Abdur Rahman, had settled in Ajmer even before Khwaja Moinuddin, and was the author of the first work in Hindi."[1] At this time Ajmer was ruled by Rajput Rajas. Similarly, Shaikh Ismail Bukhari came to Pakistan before Mahmud Ghaznavi. Mohammed Alfi who came as early as Mohd. Bin Qasim's time began missionary work in Hindu-ruled Kashmir. "The Ismaili missionary Abdullah landed near Cambay in 1067 A.D. and worked in Gujrat when the country was governed by Sidhraj Jai Singh. He and his Jain teacher Huma Charya are said to have been converted to Islam when there was no recorded Muslim invasion."[2] Such instances can be multiplied without end.

The character of sufi movement was such that it did not require official patronage or military protection. It succeeded without both in a number of countries such as Malaya, Indonesia and East and West Africa. The same is true of their work in Pakistan. In fact, power was a hindrance rather than a help to the progress of Sufi mission. This is amply borne out by the fact that sufis achieved least success near the seats of power in the sub-continent

1. *Indian Muslims, By* Prof. M. Mujeeb.
2. *The Shias of India, By* John Norman Hollister.

and had greater appeal where they had to fall upon their own moral and spiritual resources in which they were not wanting.

"Shaikh Daud of Lahore declined to meet Akbar although the Emperor was anxious to benefit from his guidance and blessings. Eminent Khalifas of Shaikh Nizamuddin refused to consider a proposal made by Mohammad Tughlaq to coordinate missionary activity with political expansion."[3]

"Neither the succession of victories by Muslim armies nor the massacre of Hindus and the destruction of their temples brought many Hindus to the fold of Islam. On the contrary, as would be natural in the circumstances, conquest only built up Hindu resistance. The battles of Islam were won not by Muslim iconoclasts but by peaceful missionaries."[4] What actually transpired was that the vigorous period of organised sufi movement merely coincided with the conquest of northern India by the Ilbari Turks early in the 13th century A.D.

Here we shall briefly narrate the work of sufis in Pakistan. Early in the 8th century A.D. when Mohammad Bin Qasim conquered Sind (which included most of the Punjab) sufi movement had not taken any organised form, as already stated. In those days Islam was propagated mostly by merchants and individual preachers belonging to various trades. They were successful only to a limited extent; they did not spear-head a mass movement.

The first organised work in this region was started by Ismaili missionaries who achieved considerable success in Sind and southern Punjab where they gained political power as well by installing Ismaili rulers at Multan and Mansura. But the success of Ismaili missionaries was short-lived. Both Mahmud Ghaznavi (997-1030 A.D.) and, 150 years later, Mohammad Ghori (1175-1206 A.D.) defeated and smashed the power of the Ismaili rulers which resulted in the slow withering away of Ismaili Shiaism in Pakistan. Among the early Ismaili missionaries to gain ground in Pakistan were Pir Sadruddin, Pir Kabiruddin and Syed Yusufuddin.

The success of Ismailism in Pakistan coincided with its similar success in other parts of the Muslim world from the middle of the 10th to the middle of 12th century A.D. During this period the Ismaili Caliphate of the Fatimids at Cairo had emerged the most powerful and Hasan Bin Sabbah's followers in the mountain fastnesses of northern Iran and Syria had become a factor to be reckoned with. But the Ghaznazvids, the Ghorids, the Seljuqs, the Ayubids and lastly the Mongols each in turn took steps to break their political power, while the sufis completely triumphed over them in the

3. *Indian Muslims, By* Prof. M. Mujeeb.
4. *A History of the Sikhs, By* Kushwant Singh.

religious sphere. Southern Pakistan having become an integral part of the Muslim world from quite an early period, witnessed this rise and fall of the Ismailis in its own territories as well.

The Ghaznavid period was marked by the arrival in Lahore of the important spiritual figures of Hazrat Shaikh Ismail and Hazrat Ali Bin Osman Hujweri, popularly known as Data Ganj Baksh (died between 1072-79 A.D.) The latter was among the leading sufi philosophers of the day and since no organised 'silsilas' had started in his time, he did immense missionary work in an individual capacity and set an outstanding example for future generations.

"Shaikh Ismail was the first missionary who began preaching Islam in Lahore in 1005 A.D. He used to deliver 'khutbas' every Friday at which thousands of Hindus embraced Islam. Next came Hazrat Shaikh Ali Bin Osman Hujweri during the time of Masud Ghaznavi and was highly successful in converting large number of Hindus to Islam."[5] He is reported to have converted Rai Raju, a Hindu General of the Ghaznavids, to Islam.

However, according to scholars, the general conversion to Islam in Pakistan started on a sizeable scale two hundred years later, from the 13th century, after the Ghorid rule. This period begins with the arrival of Hazrat Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti in this sub-continent followed by a large number of Chishti and Suhrawardy sufis. This period also saw the expansion of Muslim power across the Sutlej into northern India. "Muslim mysticism reached India when it had entered the last and the most important phase of its history—the organisation of silsilas in the 12th-13th centuries A.D. In the early period, only Suhrawardy and Chisti silsilas started their work."[6]

"Sind claims the distinction of being the home of Indian sufism. According to Hasan Nizami, Suhrawardy sufis were the first to arrive in India and made their Headquarters in Sind. Suhrawardy order attained great influence in Pakistan under the leadership of Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria of Multan. The famous Qadirya order entered India through Sind in 1482 A.D. Syed Bandagi Mohammad Ghouse, one of the descendants of the founder (Shaikh Abdul Qader Jilani 1078-1116) took up residence in Sind at Uch (now in Bahawalpur) and died in 1517 A.D."[7]

THE PIONEERS

The great pioneers of this 13th century sufi movement in Pakistan were the four friends known as 'Chahar Yar': Hazrat Fariduddin Masud

5. *Tareekh-e-Sind By* Ijazul Haq Quddusi.
6. *Religion and Politics in India in the 13th Century A.D. By* Khaliq Ahmad Nizami.
7. *An Introduction to History of Sufism By* A. J. Arbery.

Ganj Shakar of Pak Pattan (1174-1266); Hazrat Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari of Uch-Bahawalpur (1196-1294); Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria of Multan (1170-1267) and Hazrat Lal Shahbaz Qalandar of Sehwan (1177-1274). It is said that 17 leading tribes of the Punjab accepted Islam at the hands of Hazrat Fariduddin Masud Ganj Shakar. Among them were the Kharals, Sials, Sarhangwalian, Bahliyan, Adhokan, Jhakarwalian, Hakan, Khokaran, Dhudhyan, Tobiyan etc. According to some, Wattu, a Rajput tribe was also converted by Baba Farid. Hazrat Jalaluddin Bukhari converted Sumras and Sammas of Sind while Hazrat Zakaria and Shahbaz Qalandar attained great success in Multan and the northern area of Sind. Saqi Sarwar Sultan converted a large number of jats and a group among them is still known as sultani jats.

But the Sufis did not do their work in a hurry. They first set an example of highest probity by their personal acts and explained the message of Islam in a simple, forceful manner without exerting any political or economic pressure so that the work of conversion continued for centuries throughout the Delhi Sultanate, through the Khilji, Tughlaq, Lodhi and Mughal periods down to the days of the British Raj. We learn that during the time of the Mughals a noted sufi, Shaikh Dawood of Chati (in Pakistan) was carrying on the work of conversion quite vigorously. The historian Badauni says: "Hindus to the number of 50 or more came each day with their families and relatives to pay their respects to the Saint (Shaikh Dawood) and under his spiritual influence enbraced Islam."

Other notable sufis of Pakistan were: Hazrat Shah Mohammad Ghouse who migrated from Sind and settled down in the Punjab; Hazrat Mian Mir, who was born in Sind and migrated to Lahore where he is buried. (A personal friend of the 5th Sikh Guru Arjun, he laid the foundation stone of Hari Mandir in Amritsar). Hazrat Shah Jamal of Ichra, Lahore; Hazrat Shah Khairuddin Abul Maali of Lahore, Shaikh Ismail of Lahore; Hazrat Syed Yakub Zanjani (d. 604 hijri) Lahore, Hazrat Abdul Nabi Sham of Sham Chourasi who was originally a Hindu; Ruknuddin Rukne Alam of Multan who was grandson of Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria whose family had also migrated from Sind; Hazrat Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdoom-e-Jahanian Jahan Gusht of Uch who was the grand-son of Hazrat Jalaluddin Bukhari; Syed Ahmed Saqi Sarwer Sultan of D.G. Khan; Shaikh Yusuf Gardezi of Multan (1062-1152); Shaikh Safiuddin Haqqani of Uch; Pir Jalaluddin Qutab-al-Aqtab who died at Uch in 1293 A.D. converted the Mazaris and several other Baluch tribes to Islam; Channan Pir of Cholistan, Bahawalpur; Sharfuddin Bulbul Shah, Syed Ali Hamdani and Mir Syed

Hasan Samnani of Kashmir; Shaikh Badruddin Suleman and Shaikh Badruddin Ishaque of Pak Pattan; Shaikh Sadruddin Arif, Shaikh Ruknuddin Abul Fatah and Shams Subzwari of Multan; Alaul Haque; Hazrat Khardari Baba Mulla Taher of Ziarat (visit to his tomb made the place known as Ziarat); Pir Hinglaj on the coast of Makran; Pir Shori in Bugti territory; Shah Bilawal in Lasbela; Pir Omar in Khuzdar; Zinda Pir in Lund area, Chatan Shah near Kalat, Sultan Shah in Zehri territory. Pir Baba of Swat, Kaka Sahib of Nowshera; Khawaja Imran Baba, Khawaja Makhdum Chisti, Sakhi Sultan (Mangho Pir) and Hazrat Abdullah Shah of Karachi; Syed Shah Ali Makhi, Ghazi Baba, Makhdoom Mohammad Nooh, Hazrat Mohiuddin Gilani, Shah Khairuddin Gilani and Hazrat Shah Inayat of Sind.

These sufis were great intellectuals, well-read and widely travelled. Most of them were speakers of a high calibre, men of letters and poets of eminence. Because of their merits and morals coupled with their spiritual attainments they succeeded in making a powerful impact on the life of the people among whom they settled. It was no mean achievement to change the religion and transform the entire social life of millions of people in this sub-continent.

THE BLESSINGS OF THE SUFIS

The sufis performed a multitudinous role. Being proficient in learning, adept in medicine and steeped in spiritualism, they dispensed these possessions for the greatest good of the greatest number. Highest nobles of the state as well as lowest strata of society gathered in the Khankhas and the sufis showered their blessings upon them irrespective of rank and religion. They provided succour to the harassed and solace to the harrowed, made available food and shelter to the needy, preached against corruption, and admonished the harsh and oppressive rulers. There is hardly any social or moral crime against which the sufis did not raise their voice—slavery, hoarding, black-marketing, profiteering, wine etc. Barni remarks that as a result of their teachings "vices among men had been reduced."

Hazrat Shah Baz Qalander's success in his campaign against the oppression of the local raja and against the vices prevailing in Sehwan is well-known.

When Khawaja Moinuddin Chisti was asked about the highest form of devotion, he replied that it was nothing but helping the poor, the distracted and the downtrodden. In fact Muslim mystics looked upon 'social service' as the supreme object of all their spiritual exercises. They did not believe in isolated, solitary life of contemplation. 'Live in society and bear

the blows and buffets of the people' was the advice of most of them to their disciples.

Shaikh Ruknuddin Rukn-e-Alam of Multan is reported to have remarked that since all sorts of people visited a saint it was necessary for him to possess three things: (i) money; (ii) learning; and (iii) spiritual ability. With the first he could help those who needed monetary aid; with the second he could solve the problems of scholars and with the third he could provide spiritual guidance. It may be mentioned here that some of the sufis accepted gifts and donations from their rich disciples and distributed them among the poor visitors, thus serving as a media for fair distribution of wealth.

The sufis always advocated the path of peace and asked people to avoid rift and bloodshed. Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj Shakar of Pakpattan advised his disciples to placate one's enemies. He once told a visitor: "Do not give me a knife; give me a needle. The knife is an instrument for cutting asunder and the needle for sewing together."

Another aspect of sufi teachings was that they stressed God's love rather than His wrath; treated their enemies softly, sympathetically and never abused other systems or creeds. Though greatly instrumental in bringing back Ismailis of Sind and Punjab into the fold of Sunni Islam, they always praised the services of Ismaili missionaries who preceded them. Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia had commended the work of the well-known Ismaili missionary Nur Turk although he was responsible for the rising against early Turkish Sultans in Delhi.

The sufis were so kind and considerate towards people of all cultures and creeds that they exercised profound influence on Hindu society. It was because of the sympathy and understanding shown by them to the Hindus, particularly to those of the lower strata, that in the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. the religious leadership of the Bhakti movement rose from the lower sections. Never before in the long history of Hinduism, religious leaders had sprung from that strata of society to which Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Dhanna, Dadu and others belonged. And what is more significant, there was hardly any leader of the Bhakti school who had not passed some of his time in a khanqha.

Thus, khanqhas (hospices) not only brought Hindus and Muslims together but they also narrowed the gulf that divided the Muslims of foreign origin and local converts. If the sufis had not played this vital role of far-reaching importance there would have hardly been a common meeting ground between the ruling classes obsessed with a superiority

complex, and the ruled who comprised both Hindus and newly converted Muslims. Without the sufis, Muslim rulers of the early period would have remained isolated, lacking a broad base, always in danger of extinction.

As against the stiff, nonchalant and contemptuous attitude of the Sultans towards converted Muslims, the sufis gave them a sense of pride and enhanced their social prestige by various means. They usually conferred on them such titles of nobility as Khwaja (also pronounced Khoja), Momin (Memon), Malik, Shaikh, Akhund, Khalifa, etc.

By adopting an attitude of "river-like generosity, sun-like affection and earth-like hospitality, "the sufis struck at the very roots of parochialism, casteism and religious exclusiveness and paved the way for large-scale conversions.

MUSLIMS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN : THEIR DIFFERENT ORIGINS

Historians and research scholars writing about the origin of the Muslims of this sub-continent have expressed views diametrically opposed to each other. While some regard them mostly of foreign origin, others maintain that they are, by and large, descended from Hindu or Buddhist converts to Islam.

A careful study of the tempo of Muslim immigration into this sub-continent, the areas of their settlement, the geneology of various tribes and details of large-scale conversions reveals an interesting story.

Before we proceed further, we will have to find out the secret of the strange phenomena of Muslims forming majorities in the eastern and western wings of the sub-continent while the northern belt which was the centre of Muslim power for over 600 years; the Deccan which was under Muslim sway for a similar period; and central and southern India have tiny Muslim minorities ranging from 5% in the south to 17% in the north (U.P.). Why this difference between the eastern and western wings on the one hand and the rest of the sub-continent on the other ?

As stated earlier, the people inhabiting both the eastern and western wings had a different temperament from those of the rest of the sub-continent. When Hinduism had revived in the 4th century A.D. under the Guptas, sweeping away Buddhism, the people of these two wings, *i.e.*, Pakistan and Bangla Desh remained firm adherents of Buddhism. Moreover, as already stated elsewhere, Buddhist culture attained its zenith in these two regions. Even otherwise, orthodox Hindus always regarded the two regions as impure and unholy lands and considered their inhabitants devils and mischief-mongers who did not pay due respect to the Brahmins and the Hindu gods, who did not follow the caste system and who did not conform to the requirements of Hindu Dharma. In this context it would be of interest to note that all the anti-caste movements that have arisen in the Hindu society during the last 500 years have achieved greater success in Pakistan and Bangla Desh than in India. Examples are the Shakti and Sri Chaitanya movements in Bangla Desh and Sikh and Arya Samaj movements in Pakistan.

It was, therefore, quite natural for such people who were rebels from the Hindu camp to accept an egalitarian religion like Islam which discarded caste taboos, proclaimed human equality, and preached universal concord

and harmony under the benign and benevolent guidance of a Supreme Power. As such, the restless and revolutionary people inhabiting the two wings of this sub-continent joined the fold of Islam in large numbers. Secondly, the two regions on the eastern and western fringes of the sub-continent had always been absorbing new blood and new ideas. Therefore they had an open mind and were amenable to progressive forces.

It is quite obvious, then, that an overwhelming majority of the Muslims of Pakistan and Bangla Desh are converts from either Hinduism or Buddhism. A study of the lives and activities of sufis confirms this view. Historians and compilers of gazetteers are generally agreed that 80 to 85% Muslims of these areas are of local origin while 15 to 20% of Arab, Irani, Turani and Afghan ancestry, mostly concentrated in urban areas.

Another reason for the small percentage of immigrant Muslim population in Pakistan is that from the 13th to 18th centuries A.D. during which period Muslim immigration into this sub-continent took place, major portion of Pakistan was desolate and held little attraction for settlement. Moreover, for over hundred years (13th/14th centuries) NWFP and Punjab were the target of Mongol attacks and were constantly ravaged by their hordes. Muslims who were migrating from Turkistan, Khurasan and Afghanistan in the wake of Tatar and Mongol attacks could not take the risk of settling down in regions exposed to the same menace.

As regards Sind, there is a general misconception that since it was conquered by Arabs as early as the 8th century A.D., its population must be mostly of Arab origin. It should be realized that Sind was a remote and outlying province of the Caliphate where Arabs did not come willingly. Even those appointed to gubernatorial posts were reluctant to take up assignments here. Only the persecuted, the dissidents and the heretics who succeeded in dodging the authorities settled here. But most of them returned the moment conditions took a turn for the better in their homeland. Again, in later times when Muslim government was established at Delhi, the descendants of many of these Arab families who were settled in Sind migrated to northern India.

Another factor for the low percentage of Arabs in Sind's population was that the flow of Arabs from the Arabian Peninsula had exhausted by the time it reached Khurasan in the north-east and Morocco in the north-west. Even the conquest of Spain was accomplished not by Arabs alone but with the cooperation of a large force of Berbers and their generals which included General Tariq.

As such, there was no surplus Arab population to colonise Sind. Even in later period Turks and Iranis did not settle here in large numbers. The people of this province as such, are also mostly converts.

As regards Afghans/Pathans it has already been stated in the chapter dealing with them that they were either Buddhists or Hindus as late as the Ghaznavid period in the 11th century. Some of them were converted earlier but bulk of them during the Ghaznavid and Ghorid periods in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. "Afghans were nominally converted to Islam by Mahmud Ghaznavi. But the real conversion of Pathan tribes dates from the time of Shahabuddin Ghori."[1]

THE URDU-SPEAKING MUSLIMS

Who are the Mussalmans of the northern Indian belt and Deccan who are generally called Urdu-speaking ? From the low percentage of Muslims in these areas—17% in U.P., 14% in Bihar and 13% in the Deccan—it is quite evident that there were no large-scale conversions here from among the Hindu population. A careful scrutiny of historical facts will reveal that an overwhelming majority of even these small minorities, particularly of Delhi, U.P., part of Bihar and the Deccan are of foreign origin. Most of the Muslim immigrants that entered this sub-continent during the 500-year span of 13th-18th centuries A.D., settled down in these regions which were the seats of governments as well as centres of cultural and intellectual activity. A few quotations from some Muslim authors will bear this out.

"The immigrants came from Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, West Asia and the eastern coast of Africa. They came because of unsettled conditions in their native land or in search of adventure and opportunity for achievement. But this was not migration in any considerable numbers. It was rather a slow and spasmodic infiltration of families and individuals." [2]

"The Delhi Sultanate in its more vigorous days was the resort of many kings in exile. Ghyasuddin Balban (1266-1286) was proud of giving honourable asylum to upwards of 15 unfortunate sovereigns from Muslim Asia. As they brought in their train some of the most illustrious men of learning, the Delhi court became the most polite and magnificent in Islam. Ibn Batuta calls Delhi not only the first city in India but in all the East."[3]

"The Mongol pressure throughout these centuries gave Muslim India, through the refugees that came from the heart lands of Islam, its cultural

1. *The Punjab Castes By* Denzil Ibbetson.
2. *Indian Muslims, By* Prof. M. Mujeeb.
3. *The Making of India, By* Dr. Abdulla Yusuf Ali.

stimulus and its opportunity for a continual intake of values and ideas generated elsewhere in the world of Islam. At the court of Iltemish in Delhi the first wave of these refugees escaping from the hordes of Chengiz Khan, brought administrators from Iran, painters from China, theologians from Bukhara, divines and saints from all lands, craftsmen and men and maidens from every region, doctors adept in Greek medicine, philosophers from everywhere. In the face of the danger that threatened to overwhelm their religion and culture they stressed the conservative values, and taqlid (imitation) thrived at the expense of 'Ijtehad' (speculation). The wave of Muslim migrations to India reached another peak during the reign of Balban after Hulagu's sack of Baghdad.

"Muhammad bin Tughlaq's intellectual curiosity, his preference for foreigners and his policy of get-togetherness in Dar-al-Islam brought in a new flood of men and ideas and a new wave of rationalism.

"In the late Mughal period Persian, Central Asian, and Ottoman nobles dissatisfied with the patronage of their masters at home took refuge in the Mughal court, where they were well received and often appointed to high positions. They included two Ottoman Governors of Basrah, three Persian Governors of Qandahar, two of whom were Safavid princes and a stream of noblemen from all over Central Asia and Persia.

"Under Baber and during the first phase of Humayun's reign the court had a Central Asia complexion. After Humayun's return from Persia the Persian influx began. Bayram Khan, Turkish in culture but with pronounced shia proclivities represented the synthesis of the two cultural streams. Under Akber there was an influx of rationalist intellectuals escaping from the inhibiting orthodoxy of Abdullah Khan Uzbek in Transoxiana, and of Persian poets migrating from Iran where the lack of partonage by the Safavids was diverting the course of the main stream of Persian poetry from its own soil to hospitable India.

"On the whole Shah Jehan preferred Central Asians (Turanis) and his reign marks the turning point in the rivalry between Irani and Turani factions at the Mughal court. During the reign of Aurangzeb the Turani party gained definite ascendancy.

"Ahmed Shah Wali Bahmani (1422-34) of Deccan had reversed the policy of his predecessors by giving preference in his administrative appointments to foreigners over Indian nobles. He attracted to his court some distinguished foreigners like Syed Hussain Badakhshi and Abdulla Kurd, and raised a special corps of 3,000 archers from Iraq, Central Asia, Turkey

and Arabia. In due course two factions rose in the Bahmanid court, the Afaqi (foreigners) and the Deccani.

"During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, new and eccentric elements from Central Asia introduced new vogues in Indo-Persian poetry.

"Baber ushered in a new era in Indo-Persian literature. With him came the Central Asian poets Abdul Wahid Farighi, Nadir Samarqandi and Tahir Khwandi, while the historians Zayn al-din Khawafi and Mirza Haider Dughlat followed him into India."[4]

When Rana Raj Singh of Udaipur was suspected of harbouring rebellious ideas, Shah Jahan sent his representative Chandar Bhan to the Rana to render him advice for discarding such plans and to impress upon him the Emperor's greatness. Following extract from Chandar Bhan's advice to Rana of Udaipur is interesting in this context :

"It is evident to all men that this Empire is the refuge of the princes of the world and at present the rulers of Iraq, Khorasan, Transoxiana, Balkh, Badakhshan, Kashgar and other countries are in the service of the emperor, what to say of the petty rulers of the Deccan who render allegiance to this court. Every month and every year men of all sorts and of different nationalities join the imperial service in large numbers and are being appointed to various mansabs and offices. This is one of the distinctive features of this Empire that whosoever seeks refuge here does not go anywhere else."[5]

"There was a constant flow of visitors from Islamic countries to Northern India and the Sultanates of the Deccan during the period of Muslim rule in this area. Impecunious adventurers from Persia, Turkey and Central Asia, scholars and poets, religious preachers, young men in search of military career flocked from different parts of the Islamic world to the Indian capitals. Many found employment, some even founded dynasties. However, only a small group added to the cultural activities of India and contributed something to Indian Life."[6]

"The flow of foreign migrants into the sub-continent increased greatly as a result of the Mongol invasions of the Islamic world because the Sultanate of Delhi offered an asylum to the Muslim refugees. As early as Balban's reign we hear of large colonies of these migrants in Delhi, so much so that they were settled in different quarters, providing for the migrants an environment where their former ties did not have to be broken abruptly. Even when

4. *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment, By* Aziz Ahmed.
5. *Shah Jahan and the Rana of Udaipur, By* Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Islamic Research Series II, Islamic Research Association, Miscellany, Vol. I, 1948.
6. *Studies in Indian History, By* K.M. Panikkar.

conditions in the neighbouring Islamic lands were stabilized by the conversion of Mongols to Islam, the Muslim states in the sub-continent being perennially short of Muslim personnel, continued to encourage immigration. Many distinguished families of administrators, soldiers and scholars during the Mughal rule hailed from Central Asia and Iran. The tradition of migration from Muslim lands never came to an end. Under the Nizam's Government until quite recently this policy continued and many families went from North India to earn a livelihood and settled down there; the Nizam's Dominions attracted Muslims not only from the rest of the sub-continent but also from Arabia and Iran."[7]

آئے تھے اے ہند ! یاں ایسے ہی ہم زارو نزار
ہے عرب سے جن کو ننگ اور ہے عجم کو جن سے عار

ہم ان ہی اسلاف کے معلوم ہوتے ہیں خلف !
جن کی تھی محکم نسل رستم و اسفندیار

(حالی)

It must have been noticed that this constant stream of families from Muslim countries which commenced from the time of Altamash early in the 13th century A.D. continued till the time of Aurangzeb and even upto the reign of Shah Alam in the 18th century. It must have also been noticed that they mostly settled in the northern Indian belt from Panipat to Patna and in the Deccan.

The last names of the Urdu-speaking Muslims and those belonging to Pakistani regions are quite revealing. They clearly and positively point out their respective ancestries. Urdu-speaking Muslims usually have the following words added at the end or beginning of their names.

Syed, Qureshi, Ansari, Siddiqui, Farooqi, Osmani, Alvi, Hussaini, Jafri, Moosvi, Naqvi, Zaidi, Zuberi, Kazmi, Rizvi, Qasmi, Hashmi, Abbasi, Mehdi or such place names as Sherwani, Sabzwari, Lari, Shirazi, Ispahani, Tirmizi, Bukhari, Kirmani, Yazdani, etc.

Pakistani Muslims mostly use the following names :

Butt, Bhatti, Bhutto, Watto, Usto, Khokhar, Khar, Kehar, Khuhro, Cheema, Janjua, Bajwa, Minhas, Chatta, Ghamman, Kahlon, Sial, Rana, Randhawa, Awan, Naik, Noon, Tiwana, Katpar, Junejo, Chajro, Kharal, Samma, Channa, Langah, Soomro, etc.

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7. *Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, By* Dr. I.H. Qureshi.

Those of Brohi and Baluch origin use : Laghari, Rind, Lund, Lashari, Jatoi, Hoti, Mengal, Marri, Bugti, Talpur, Magsi, Gabol, Chandio, Mazari, Gurmani, Buledhi, Zehri, Korai, Dombki, Khoso, etc.

The Pathans mostly use the names of their tribes at the end with or without the word zai such as : Yusufzai, Achakzai, Jogezai, Orakzai, Ghilzai, Afridi, Waziri, Khattak, Niazi, Tareen, Bangash, Marwat, Jadoon, Durrani, etc.

These last names speak volumes of the origin of the Urdu-speaking people and of those of Pakistan. It is generally alleged that the people who use the words Syed, Qureshi, Alvi, Siddiqi, Farooqi, etc. are not the genuine descendants of the Prophet or his Companions; that their use is spurious and unreliable. This may be true of only a few cases but, by and large, they are genuine. As already proved, large number of Muslim families of noble birth and high pedigree migrated from various parts of the Muslim world to this sub-continent and settled mostly in the northern Indian belt from Panipat to Patna or in the Deccan which were centres of Muslim governments and of their cultural activities. They could not have failed to leave their progeny nor could their descendants have vanished from these areas. Their claim is mostly genuine. Why does not a Noon, Tiwana, Minhas, Watto, Bhatti or Bhutto claim to be descendants of the Prophet or the Companions ? Because they are not. They do not feel ashamed to say that they are Rajputs, Jats, etc. They are even proud of it. And why should they not ?

As already stated, about 15 to 20% of the Pakistani Muslims are of foreign origin and as such a few Syeds, Farooqis, Qureshis etc. are also found here. Similarly, about 20 to 25% Muslims of northern India and Deccan are descendants of converts but they usually concealed their Hindu origin because of the prevailing atmosphere in those regions which shall be explained here.

SUPERIORITY COMPLEX AMONG URDU-SPEAKING MUSLIMS

Since the Urdu-speaking people of the northern Indian belt and the Deccan are mostly the descendants of immigrants who were the cream of society in their own countries, they evolved a pattern of life and culture which was different from that of the converted Muslims. This factor, coupled with their association with the government and their being part of the ruling hierarchy, gave them a sense of superiority. It is they who ruled over the sub-continent for 600 years. It is they who constituted the bulk of the army,

the civil service and the elite. They looked down not only upon Hindus but upon the converted Muslims as well.

A few references here will substantiate this assertion. "The administration of the sultanate and the Mughal empire was dominated by immigrants who had most of their training and experience outside India, and this gave it much of the character of foreign rule."[8]

"Both Iltumish and Balban treated the Indian Muslims with contempt and ignored even merit among non-Turks. Balban jealously guarded the interests of his race. So long as he was at the helm of affairs no Indian-born Muslim could think of any government job."[9]

Barni's history shows that Hindus were not excluded from privileges and were appointed to responsible posts. He is even bitter about the superior social position of the Hindus. But this was not the case with local Muslims. According to Nizami: "during the 13th century A.D. many of the local Muslims who aspired to high offices were put to death."[10] He further says that they had no say in the policy of the Government of medieval India.

Even as late as the 16th century A.D. the position was hardly better. Concerning the social composition of Akbar's manasbdars, the historian Moreland states : "....just under 70% belonged to families which had either come to India with Humayun or had arrived at court after the accession of Akbar; the remaining 30% of appointments were held by Indians, rather more than half by (Indian) Muslims and rather less than half by Hindus."

"There was an ingrained prejudice against the local converts among Muslim rulers. They trusted the Hindus but not the converts who were termed 'arzal' meaning low-born, as against Muslims of foreign origin who were called 'ashraf' *i.e.*, high-born."[11]

This policy, however, had a few exceptions. Alauddin Khilji (1294-1316 A.D.) was not the type of ruler who would allow question of race and family to interfere with his choice of Ministers and administrators. Malik Kafur Hazardinari who obtained complete ascendancy over him during his last years, was a converted slave from Gujrat.

Mohammad Tughlaq changed this policy but again during the days of Firoz Tughlaq, Indian born Amirs were predominant, Khan-i-Jehan of

8. *The Indian Muslims, By* Prof. M. Mujeeb.
9. *Religion and Politics in India in the* 13*th Century A.D., By* Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, Reader in History, Aligarh University, India.
10. Ibid.
11. *Pakistan—Birth and Growth of a Nation, By* Richard V. Weeks.

Telangana, a Brahmin convert, being virtual ruler of the country for a number of years.

But Muslim rulers had very unhappy experience with converts in the majority of cases. A few instances shall be mentioned here. Mahmud Ghaznavi had entrusted the newly conquered territories of the Hindu Shahis to Sukh Pal, a grandson of Jaipal who had become Muslim. He was appointed Governor of Waihind but as soon as Mahmud returned, Sukh Pal apostatized and renounced allegiance to Ghazna.

Khusro Khan, a converted slave of Alauddin Khilji, killed the latter's son, Qutbuddin Mubarak (1316-20), himself became king and turned apostate. Sarwarul Mulk, originally a Hindu, was made wazir by the ruler of the Syed Dynasty, Mubarak Shah (1421-34). He killed the Sultan. Harihara and Bukka, neo-Muslim governors of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq reverted to Hinduism and founded the Vijaynagar Empire in the south. When in 1527 A.D. Baber fought Rana Sangha at Fathepur Sikri, Hasan Khan, a Mevati Chief (Meo converted to Islam) was in the Rajput camp.

However, there were a few who remained loyal such as : Ahmad Ayaz Khwaja Jehan whose original name was Raja Kunwar Hardeo, hailing from Deogiri. Mohammad Bin Tughlaq had made him Prime Minister. The Governors Azizul Mulk Kalal and Hisamuddin etc., though converts, were faithful. But these were exceptions. Administration was overwhelmingly in the hands of Muslims of foreign origin who not only dominated the Headquarters at Delhi but all the provincial administrations as well. The high posts they held naturally created in them a sense of superiority.

With a sense of being rulers, having blue-blood in their veins, a superior language and refined culture, sophisticated art and architecture, they created their own 'castes', married among themselves treating the local converts as a separate inferior class of Muslims.

LOCALS ASSERT THEMSELVES

Unfortunately this complex and this attitude of the Urdu-speaking people has persisted upto our own generation. The Urdu-speaking people who migrated to East and West Pakistan after partition of the sub-continent continued to look down upon Bengali, Punjabi and Sindhi Muslims who were mostly converts, and treated their language and culture with contempt as their ancestors used to do before. They did not realize that the entire political set-up and power-pattern had changed. The Turk and Moghul dynasties who patronised them had vanished long ago from the political scene of this sub-continent ; the converts whom they had kept out and

refused a share in the government were now the ruling elite. They were in no mood to brook such insults and hence the recent outbursts in Bengal and Sind where the Urdu-speaking refugees had settled in large numbers.

Muslims of local origin have asserted themselves for the first time after they accepted Islam centuries ago. It was long overdue ; it was their birth right. They were fresh and fervid and capable of assuming the responsibilities of defence as well as administration.

Pakistan has bestowed a new lease of life upon them after centuries of despair and deprivation. First, their spirits were broken when as Hindu Rajputs, Jats and Gujjars etc. they were defeated by the Turks, Afghans and Mughals. Next, when most of them accepted Islam, they were looked down upon by the Turkish/Afghan ruling classes as 'arzals' and excluded from the government of the country. But it does great credit to the Mussalmans of Pakistan and Bangla Desh that all these trials and tribulations, agonies and sufferings did not adversely affect their religious zeal and fervour which remained as fresh as a daisy.

The Muslims of foreign origin of the north-Indian belt, after ruling for over 600 years, had no doubt degenerated, hardly capable of defending the empire. This had become evident in the post-Aurangzeb era when they were defeated by the Marathas and then by the British. The most glaring proof of this degeneration is that in spite of the fact that Ahmed Shah Abdali shattered the power of the Marathas in the 3rd battle of Panipat in 1761 A.D., the Mughal armies, manned by these Muslims of foreign origin, could not take advantage of this favourable development. They had no stamina left which enabled the Marathas to revive their power and again capture Delhi within a short period. Pelf and power had given birth to serious vices in Muslim society of northern India making it decrepit and docile. "There was no patriotism in the army composed of Persian, Central Asian and Afghan soldiers of fortune."[12] The life at Delhi and Oudh during the last decades of 18th and early 19th centuries is positive proof of this state of affairs. Service in the army had become an inheritance—a close preserve of a particular class of immigrant Muslims. As Mirza Ghalib who was of Turkish origin says :

سو پشت سے ہے پیشہ آبا سپہ گری
کچھ شاعری ذریعہ عزت نہیں مجھے

When the flood of immigrants ceased after Aurangzeb, no fresh blood was infused and no attempt made to purify society. This failure on the

12. A *short history of Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan By* M. A. Hanifi.

part of the later Mughals to recruit converted Muslims from Punjab, Sind, Bengal and from among the Afghans, after immigration from Turkistan had ceased, was mainly responsible for the decline and fall of their empire. According to the historian Irvin "military inefficiency was the principal if not the sole cause of the Mughal Empire's final collapse." They refused to see the moral decadence and bankruptcy around them.

The British proved clever in this respect and rectified the mistake in time. During East India Company's rule for a century from 1757-1857 A.D. they had recruited in their army Muslims and Hindus mostly from northern Indian belt—the same stuff which was being recruited by the Mughals. Writing about Mutiny a British author states: "But the root of the trouble lay in the condition of the Bengal Army, which was recruited not in Bengal but in Oudh and North-West Province."[13] (*i.e.,* present western U.P.)

When the British conquered the Punjab in 1848 A.D. they found a much better stuff and, within a few years, discarded the old recruiting areas. If the Mughals had done the same, history would have taken a different turn.

However, Muslims of northern India served in the British army faithfully for about a century. On the other hand recruitment of the Punjabi Muslims in the British army in substantial numbers began only from 1861 when a re-organisation of the armed forces was undertaken after the transfer of power from East India Company to the British Crown. Large-scale recruitment of Punjabis took place only from 1885-86 after the 2nd Afghan war. Therefore, at the time of Partition the Punjabi Muslims had served the British hardly 60-65 years — less than the northern Indian Muslims had served the East India Company.

In spite of these adverse developments and disagreeable aspects it must be acknowledged that the Muslims of northern Indian belt and the Deccan maintained certain cultural and literary standards, never lost sight ot their links with the Islamic world and always considered religion as the basis of their polity. Any development in the world ot Islam roused their interest; no sacrifice was too great for them for the cause of Islam. The idea of an Islamic state of Pakistan could not fail to stir up their dormant energies. Physically they were exhausted but mentally still agile and active. The high degree of consciousness among these Urdu-speaking Muslims with a rich and resplendant background extending over generations, made them spearhead most of the religious and political movements in this sub-continent including the one for Pakistan.

13. *The British Achievements in India; A Survey By* H.G. Rawlinson

THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

The northern Indian Muslims being of foreign origin always spoke foreign languages, mostly Turkish and Persian, which were their mother tongues as against the converted Muslims who spoke local regional languages.

To communicate with Hindus, these Turkish and Persian speaking Muslims of northern India and the Deccan slowly evolved a new language, Hindustani, whose persianised form came to be known as Urdu. But the official language was always Persian even down to the days of the last Mughal Emperor in spite of the fact that Urdu had become a developed medium by that time. "Persian remained the official language of every Muslim state in India and the ambition to emulate Persian classics was nowhere given up, the influx of Persian poets being almost a compulsion for the study of Persian."[14]

It was only later on, from the advent of the British that the northern Indian Muslims adopted Urdu and developed an attachment for it which, in the course of time assumed religious colour and missionary zeal. "During the first centuries of its existence Urdu literature was entirely poetical. Prose Urdu owes its origin to the English occupation of India and to the need of text books for the College of Fort William. The Hindi form of Hindustani was invented at the same time by the teachers at the College. It was intended for the use of Hindus and was derived from Urdu by ejecting all words of Arabic and Persian birth, and substituting in their place words borrowed or derived from the indigenous Sanskrit."[15]

"The Muslim soldiers and officers as well as administrators and others who fanned out from Delhi carried with them the new language, forged by them, the basic structure of which was borrowed from Hindi....the intimate language of inter-course remained Urdu, except in the case of previously established Muslim communities or local converts."[16]

This shows that Muslims of local origin who belonged to old nationalities based on distinct regions of this sub-continent *i.e.*, Bengal, Sind, Punjab, Baluchistan, NWFP etc. used their own mother tongues. They had no need for, or association with Urdu since they did not require any new media of communication with Hindus of their provinces who spoke the same regional languages as themselves.

14. *Indian Muslims, By* Prof. M. Mujeeb.
15. *A Study of History*, Vol. V, *By* A.J. Toynbee.
16. *Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, By* Dr. I.H. Qureshi.

The first great exponent and poet of this new language of Hindu-Muslim communication, Amir Khusro (13th/14th century A.D.) was of Turkish descent; while the greatest poet of this language, Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (19th century) was also of Turkish ancestry. Similarly, the best-known Urdu poet of the Deccan, Sultan Mohammad Qutb Shah (17th century A.D.) belonged to the Turkish dynasty of Qutb Shahis and one of the earliest Urdu poets, Wali Deccani (17th/18th century), had a similar lineage. No wonder that Urdu in southern India is known as 'Turka Mata'—language of Turks. Overwhelming majority of Urdu poets and writers were of Turkish, Iranian, Arab or Afghan origin.

As regards the educated Muslim converts from local religions, they either spoke Persian which was the official language, or their own regional language. An important aspect to be noted here is that while Persian was patronised by the Muslim rulers, regional languages were patronised and used by the Sufis. (Bengal is an exception where Muslim rulers and sufis alike patronised Bengali).

After the decline of Muslim political power in the sub-continent while Urdu became the darling of the British and made rapid strides with their backing during the course of 150 years, Bengali, Sindhi, Punjabi, Pushto, Baluchi which were the choice of the sufis and served them well for the propagation of Islam, languished and began to be considered un-Islamic! It is indeed an irony of fate that those very languages which played a magnificent role in the propagation of Islam and were extensively used by the Sufis should be regarded as un-Islamic and languages of Hindus; while Urdu, whose contribution in this respect is dismal, is considered the champion of Islam. I am emphasising this important aspect to instil respect for local languages in the minds of the Urdu-speaking Muslims settled in Pakistan who are labouring under erroneous notions about their own language and its past.

By high-lighting this point I do not intend to belittle the importance of Urdu in the present-day set-up of Pakistan. Today it has great utility both as the most advanced and developed language of the country and as a language of inter-provincial communication. At one time Urdu served as a medium of communication between the Muslims of foreign origin and Hindus; today it is serving as a medium of communication between Muslims of various provinces of Pakistan. So, its historical role continues and this role alone has made it acceptable as the national language of Pakistan. This is a great distinction which it richly deserved having played a marked role in the creation of Pakistan.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS ADOPTFD COUNTRY

Another aspect of Urdu-speaking Muslims, apart from their superiority complex, has been their attitude towards India where they had settled down on migration during the Muslim period. They never regarded themselves strictly Indians but as members of Millat-e-Islamia. The following couplet of Akbar Allahbadi is an illustration of this attitude :

While we slave for food as clerks,
Our hearts bleed for Persians and Turks.

They even looked down upon everything Indian and were all praise for whatever was Arabic, Irani or Turani. They always regarded themselves as strangers in the land of idol-worshippers. This attitude is reflected in their literature, thinking and political life. In the opening lines of 'Shikwai Hindi', Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali says :

الوداع اے کشور ہندوستان جنت نشان
رہ چکے تیرے بہت دن ہم بدیسی مہمان

Farewell Hindustan, land of eternal spring,
For long have we, as foreign guests, stayed here.

Hali is angry with India that it deprived the Muslims of their vigour and greatness :

چھین لی سب ہم سے یاں شان عرب آن عجم
تونے اے غارت گر اقوام و اکال الامم!

ہم کو ہر جوہر سے یوں معرا کردیا
تونے اے آب و ہوائے ہند یہ کیا کردیا

کردیا شیروں کو تونے گو سفند اے خاک ہند
جو شکار افگن تھے آکر ہوگئے یاں خود شکار

سیرتیں تونے بدل دیں، مسخ کردیں صورتیں،
آبرو تونے ڈبودی، کھودیا تونے وقار!

This attitude of Indian Muslims has been noted and commented upon by a number of Hindu writers.

Dr. R.C. Majumdar has this to say of Urdu poetry : "The Urdu poems written in India in the 19th century would make one think that

they were all written on the soil of Iran, and the entire Urdu literature conveyed the notion that the Muslims were in India, but not of India."[17]

Ram Babu Saxena has much to say against the blind adoption of the Persian tradition, which he calls 'servile absorption' and 'servile imitation'. There is nothing Indian, he says, in the birds, flowers, trees, paragons of love and beauty and justice to which allusions are frequently made in Urdu poetry. 'The heart of India, the spring, the eternal snows of the Himalayas, the fertilizing power of the Ganges and the Jamuna with their magnificent flow have all escaped the attention of the early poets!"[18]

Thus, throughout history while Urdu-speaking Muslims (of foreign origin) never identified themselves with Indian or regional nationalities and never thought in these terms, the converted Muslims could not help thinking in terms of regional nationalities from which they had sprung up, to which they belonged, and from which they find it difficult to dissociate themselves even after the establishment of Pakistan. Hence their love and preference for regional languages over Urdu and their continued attachment to regional nationalities. But there is nothing to be scared of at this attitude of the Muslims of local origin.

This is a phenomena which exists in the entire sub-continent, irrespective of religion. Since the British-made Indian 'nation' is today riding the crest of success, this phenomena is not visible to outsiders and has not surfaced so far in India. Because of several factors it is at present subdued and lies dormant but is not dead or extinguished and may erupt any time. While India has no strong cementing force to handle this problem successfully when it emerges in a virulent form, Pakistan has, in Islam, a force which cannot only cement their relations but bind them and unite them like one body. But the Islam that can prove effective for this purpose is not the Islam we preach and practise today. This is the Islam of monarchs and moulvis, of bureaucrats and businessmen. This Islam could not keep Muslims of East and West Pakistan together nor has it succeeded in other parts of the Muslim world.

As sufism emerged in an organised form in the 12th century A.D. from the very womb of Muslim society and from the depths of Islamic ideology, successfully meeting the challenge then faced by the Muslim world, a similar movement manned by a self-less and devoted band of workers has to emerge from amongst us with a philosophy firmly based

17. *Glimpses of Bengal, By* Dr. R.C. Majumdar.
18. *History of Urdu Literature, By* Ram Babu Saxena.

on Islamic puritanism and wedded to the Quranic concepts of life—liberal, broad-minded, science-oriented. This is the only and effective solution to the so-called nationalities problem. Suppression is not the answer. Regionalism can play a healthy role if it operates within the over-all concept of Pakistani nation bound by innumerable common factors of race, religion and geography.

As for the Urdu-speaking Muslims who migrated here, they will have to give up the attitude they had adopted in India of regarding the country, its people and its flora and fauna as alien and singing hymns in praise of Iran and Turan. They have now migrated to the land of Sehoon (River Sind) which, according to Muslim traditions, is one of the four rivers of 'jannat' (heaven). Henceforth Pakistan should be their Iran and Turan and their everything. Further, they should not content themselves with love for Pakistan's concept and ideology only, but should cultivate attachment and adoration for the people and province of their adoption. They should realise that they are no more living among idol-worshippers, hostile to their religion and ideology, but among people who are as staunch defenders of faith as themselves. Sympathetic approach towards the language and culture of the local people will evoke reciprocal feelings and make the task of assimilation easier. Let the Urdu-speaking immigrants prepare themselves and their children for this new way of life.

I am not advocating parochial nationalism but a nation forming part of a larger 'millat'. Love for one's motherland is, in fact, a cardinal principle of Prophet Mohammad's teachings. As pointed out by Dr. Fatimi, Islamic philosophy of life is deeply wedded to the land.[19] According to a verse of the Holy Quran quoted by him, a healthy and commendable philosophy of life is one which is rooted in the soil. In this way alone can it rise to greater heights and attain glory. Those philosophies which do not have their roots in the soil are like putrid, uprooted trees which can neither flourish nor yield fruit.

الم ترکیف ضرب الله مثلاً کلمة طیبة کشجره طیبة اصلها ثابت و فرعها فی السماء

توتی اکلها کل حین باذن ربها و یضرب الله الا مثال للناس لعلهم یتذکرون و مثل کلمة

خبیثة کشجره خبیثة ا جتثت من فوق الارض ماله ما من قراره

سوره ابراهیم ۱۴ آیت ۲۴ تا ۲۶

19. *Pakistani Qaumiyyat, By* Dr. Qudratullah Fatimi.

Translation : Have you not noticed that God explains through similies? Kalma-e-Tayyaba (healthy, progressive ideology) is comparable to a fine, luxuriant tree which has strong, deep roots in the soil and whose branches are soaring high towards the sky. Nature (God) has designed such trees to bear fruits in all seasons. God explains through concrete examples so that truth and reality may be thoroughly understood and imbibed by the people. Kalma-e-Khabeesa (rancid, retrogressive ideology) may be compared to an undesirable, rotten tree which has been uprooted from the soil and possesses neither strength nor stability.

PERSONS WHO CREATED PAKISTAN

It may be of interest to note here that though the active movement for Pakistan originated and developed in the Muslim-minority provinces of India inhabited mostly by Muslims of foreign origin, yet the thought-content, suggestion, name and supreme leadership were provided by persons who were descendants of Hindu converts to Islam and belonged to the regions later constituting Pakistan. Dr. Mohammad Iqbal of Brahmin ancestry hailing from Kashmir conceived the idea; Sardar Mohammad Gul Khan, probably of Kushan ancestry from N.W.F.P. first suggested it;[20] Choudhry Rahmat Ali of Jat ancestry from Punjab gave the name and Mohammad Ali Jinnah, descended from the Lohana tribe of Sindhi Hindus provided leadership to the Pakistan movement. Another great votary of Pakistan movement and its first Prime Minister Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was also a descendant of Rajput converts.

The state of Pakistan, as such, was conceived, proposed, named and brought into existence by Muslims from Kashmir, N.W.F.P., the Punjab and Sind all having Hindu ancestry and sons of the soil. But the reason why it aroused fervour first among the Urdu-speaking Muslims was that because of their background and location near the seats of power, they were politically more conscious than others. Moreover, they had enjoyed political power throughout Muslim period and knew its taste, while the Muslims of majority areas had never shared political power and were unaware of its advantages. They remained comparatively backward during the Muslim period except when they (*e.g.*, Bengal and Sind) asserted independence from Delhi.

20. In 1923 a tribal chief Mohammad Gul Khan in his evidence before the North-West Frontier Enquiry Committee headed by Sir Dennis Bray suggested the establishment of a separate homeland for Muslims in the north-west extending upto Agra. This was the first time that partition was formally proposed before an official body.

For over six hundred years (1200-1800 A.D.) this sub-continent was ruled by Muslims of Turkish, Afghan, Iranian and Arab origin, and now, with the establishment of Pakistan, for the first time, Muslims of local origin have assumed the reins of government. In the new set-up Muslim Rajputs and Jats have been playing a leading role in the armed forces, civil services and political life of the country. Pakistan army is basically a Rajput/Jat army.

I am emphasising this point to high-light the fact that the present Indo-Pakistan problem is not entirely a Hindu-Muslim problem as is generally made out both by the protagonists and antagonists of Pakistan. Contrary to the prevailing notion, Muslim conquerors throughout their 600-year rule over this sub-continent always tried to unite rather than divide it. Division of this sub-continent on the present lines is a natural tendency inherent in the local people and in its regions, and is as much a geo-political issue as a religious one. Kashmir, Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan have their economy based on the Indus and the five together have had a separate existence and more affinities with the countries to their west than with the Indian states existing in the east in the pre-Muslim period. Therefore, it is not fair on the part of India to blame Muslims for the division. Centrifugal tendencies are part of this sub-continent's life; they have manifested themselves time and again throughout history.

The 1947 division of the sub-continent was based on the concept of Muslim nationalism and Hindu nationalism. This concept of Muslim nationalism, it will be recalled, was not considered truly religious and was, therefore, opposed by a number of leading Muslim religious organisations of the sub-continent such as Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind, Jamaat-a-Islami, Ahrars etc. To them nationalism and Islam were incompatible.

It would be of interest to quote on this subject a leading authority on political science: "All over the world, it was nationalism that shook the existing order....It broke up the unity of India when there was a clash between Muslim and Hindu aims. For, it was a national problem, rather than a strictly religious problem, that led to the destruction of the greatest British achievement, the unity of India. So, the triumph of nationalism often produced more nations than had been foreseen when the movement began, and produced nations that might not have come into existence but for the provocation of older nationalism."[21]

The last observation of Prof. Brogan is significant implying that in this sub-continent existence of older nationalism was responsible for its

21. *Worlds in Conflict, By* Sir D.W. Brogan.

division. This means that division was inherent and inevitable. The emergence of Bangla Desh based on old nationalism lends more strength to this theory which does not preclude division of Indian Union also on similar lines in future. In view of this background it is not surprising to find that the persons who conceived, proposed, named and attained Pakistan were all of local origin.

It would also not be incorrect to infer that Choudhry Rahmat Ali who coined the word Pakistan had, rankling in his sub-conscience, a faint and lingering memory of the old Brahmin prejudice which regarded the lands west of Sutlej as malech—impure and unholy. Maybe, the name 'Pak' (pure) for these very lands occurred to Rahmat Ali as a befitting rebuttal to this age-old, deep-rooted Hindu bias.

Let us end this chapter with a quotation from Choudhry Rahmat Ali:

"We must do all we can to recover our lost position in the world by saving our people from the serfdom of Indianism and our lands from the shackles of its provincialism. When that is done we must—and we will—build on the solid and secure foundations of Pakistan, Bengal and Osmanistan, three independent nations which will be larger, bigger, and more powerful than any that existed in our history.

"Finally, we come to the vital issue of the inter-relationship of Pakistan, Bengal and Osmanistan......I propose that this question be solved by the creation of an international organisation that will be dedicated, both in name and spirit to the realization of the new destiny envisaged for the millat by the Pakistan National Movement."[22]

22. *Pakistan—the Fatherland of the Pak Nation By* Choudhry Rahmat Ali 1933

FOUR NATIONALITIES—AN ANALYSIS

For the last few years the question of Pakistan's 'nationalities' is being debated, propagated, supported and contested at various levels and in different quarters. Unfortunately, in these lively discourses some basic issues have been ignored. We shall make an attempt here to discuss and analyse two most salient aspects of the problem.

Firstly, are the nationalities, so often spoken of, located in clearly demarcated and distinct areas amenable to division on regional basis?

Secondly, have the nationalities, whatever regions they are living in, settled down permanently or, is the population pattern still fluid and changing, yet to assume a final shape and a stable character?

Let us address ourselves to the first question province-wise:

N.W.F.P. : The Province known as NW.F.P. has an area of 39,283 sq. miles with a population of one crore ten lacs. Its most populous district called Hazara on the eastern bank of River Indus is inhabited, from Mansehra downward, by non-Pakhtuns, mostly Gujjars and Hindko speaking Pathans of mixed blood. In the regions west of river Indus starting from the north, the people of the (former) State of Chitral are non-Pakhtuns belonging to the racial stock of Chinese Turkistan akin to the people of Gilgit, Skardu, Hunza, Yasin and Nagar. Next, the majority of the people of the province's biggest city, Peshawar, belong to various Iranian and Central Asian stocks and are not Pakhtuns. In the southern region, half the people of D.I. Khan district are, again, non-Pakhtuns mostly Awans, Jats, Rajputs and Baluchis.

In this context how would an advocate of four nationalities determine the exact boundaries of Pakhtunistan which, if scrupulously adhered to on racial and linguistic considerations, may shrink to very unpalatable proportions. This population complex also explains the limited success in NWFP of Wali Khan (a protagonist of Pakhtunistan) in the general elections of Decembes 1970.

*BALUCHISTAN:*The Province called Baluchistan has an area of 134,000 sq. miles with a population of about 24 lacs. Of the ten districts of Baluchistan province, three districts viz Quetta-Pishin, Zhob and Loralai are overwhelmingly Pathan; two districts viz Kachchi and Lasbela are inhabited by Rajputs, Jats and their allied tribes while the remaining five viz Sibi, Chagi, Kalat, Makran and Kharan are largely Brohi-Baluchi. Even in some of the tehsils of these five districts non-Baluchis are in majority. For instance, Sharigh Tehsil (Harnai) of Sibi district has a

fairly large percentage of Pathans. Population-wise about seven lacs are Pathans; over four lac Rajputs and Jats and about one lac Punjabis, Muhajirs and Gilgiti labour taking the total of non-Baluchis to 12 lacs leaving only 12 lac Baluchi and Brohi tribes in a population of 24 lacs. In this state of affairs how much area and what percentage of population of Baluchistan will accrue to a province based on Baluchi-Brohi nationality ? Out of ten districts they will, at best, get five.

If the Baluchis/Brohis seriously think of having particular areas of Baluchistan marked on the basis of nationality, they may indeed come to grief.

SIND: Sind has an area of over 54,000 sq. miles and a population of one crore 40 lacs. Of this about 55 lacs are Muhajars, Pathans and Punjabis. Of the remaining 85 lacs, about 25 lacs are of Baluchi/Brohi origin (Sindhi-speaking), leaving barely 60 lac old Sindhis in a total of 140 lacs.

Most of the regions west of Indus from Jacobabad to Dadu are inhabited by Baluchi and Brohi tribes since long before partition. After partition the population pattern of the province has drastically and basically altered due to the influx of refugees from India and immigrants from other provinces of Pakistan. These refugees and immigrants, again, are of different origins. Any attempt to re-demarcate the boundaries of the province of Sind on the basis of nationality may diminish the size of the Sindhi nationality province to a disagreeable size.

PUNJAB: Punjab has an area of 79,542 sq. miles with a population of 3 crores 75 lacs. It may be pointed out that the present boundaries of Punjab were determined by the British more on the basis of political considerations than on racial or cultural grounds. For instance, the D.G. Khan and Muzaffargarh districts are overwhelmingly Baluchi, while Multan and Bahawalpur have, all through history, had closer affinities with Sind than with Punjab. Multan was the capital of Sind for a long time so much so that in western India Sindhis were usually called Multanis.

Even today the spiritual home of the Sindhis is the tomb of Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria in Multan. Sindhis have such great veneration for this Saint that they make it a point to visit his Mazar by walking bare-footed. If the Punjabis think of basing their provincial boundaries on nationality, they may not be able to retain all the areas that today constitute Punjab.

In view of this background, if the four nationalities concept is accepted, it would become essential and unavoidable to re-demarcate the present provincial boundaries which have neither racial nor linguistic basis. In case of re-demarcation of provincial boundaries major portions of Hazara

and D.I. Khan districts of NWFP will go to Punjab; whole of D.G. Khan and part of Muzaffargarh districts of the Punjab will go to Baluchistan; Three districts of Baluchistan will go to NWFP and two to Sind while Jacobabad and parts of a few districts of Sind west of Indus will go to Baluchistan.

If this exercise is resorted to, two problems will crop up: Firstly, several sub-nationalities with strong historical claims will put up their own demands for separate provinces which would be difficult to refuse. Whatever the claims and pretensions of four nationalities, the rights and merits of the sub-nationalities are much more strong and have a more cogent and powerful historical backing. As such, further vivisection will become inevitable.

What is more important is that there is hardly an instance of these so-called nationalities having a separate, distinct existence in history. Pakhtuns have never presented a united front. Khushal Khan Khattak bemoans this weakness of the Pakhtuns throughout his poetry and hurls the most bitter invectives on them for their failure to forge unity. In fact the most outstanding aspect of Pakhtun history has been their refusal to act as one nation or nationality.

As regards Baluchistan, its entire history is replete with struggles, wars and rivalries between Baluchi and Brohi tribes not to speak of inter-tribal conflicts among Baluchis and Brohis themselves.

Northern Punjab, being the route of the invading armies from Central Asia into Gangetic valley, never had any opportunity to have separate nationality.

As for Sind, it has been expanding and shrinking in size depending upon both internal and external situations, particularly on the conditions prevailing in Iran, Central Asia and India. At one time it embraced the whole of the present-day Pakistan, plus vast portions of Rajputana in the east and Qandhar in the west. And at another it was confined only to lower Sind with Thatta as its capital. In this process it has been absorbing and shedding the nationalities living to its north, east and west.

Moreover, even if it is decided to re-demarcate the present provincial boundaries on the basis of nationalities, will the people living in one province for generations agree to become part of another? Will the Sindhi-speaking and Punjabi-speaking Baluchis, playing such important role in the politics of the provinces of their adoption, consent to join Baluchistan? Similarly, would the non-Pushtu-speaking people of D.I. Khan and Hazara wish to

be absorbed by Punjab? Same applies to Quetta Division, Lasbela, Kachchi, etc., etc.

Adoption of four nationalities basis and consequent re-drawing of boundaries will necessitate holding of referendum in various regions of each province. The result of such a referendum is anybody's guess. Instead of solving the problem it will open up pandora's box and lead to further vivisection.

For instance, once the four nationalities get their provinces strictly on the basis of regrouping of nationalities, further rivalries inherent in those nationalities will come up to surface. Clash between Baluchi-Brohi groups in Baluchistan, between northern-southern Pathans in Pakhtunistan, between Punjabis-Seraikis in Punjab and between Sindhis-Muhajirs in Sind, will become inevitable. On what basis will the protagonists of four nationalities theory deny the sub-nationalities their right to have separate status when the latter have both history and language to back their stand.

Another important factor in this context cannot be overlooked. Each one of the present provinces is multi-lingual. Pushtu, Hindko and Punjabi are the major languages spoken in the NWFP; Punjabi, Seraiki, Urdu and Baluchi in the Punjab; Baluchi, Brohi, Lasi, Kurd and Pushtu in Baluchistan; Sindhi, Urdu and Baluchi in Sind.

PROBLEM OF MIGRATION

Next we shall discuss the second factor relating to the concept of nationality which is as important as the previous one. Unlike India where people are living a settled life in clearly demarcated regions based on various languages in vogue there, the conditions in Pakistan are quite different, its population being yet in a fluid state.

Large groups of people living in all the four provinces are still mobile, constantly migrating from one province to another. There has been a regular flow of Pathans and Baluchis into the Punjab and Sind which continues even today. Lakhs of Pathans are employed in Karachi and other industrial cities of Sind and Punjab such as Hyderabad, Sukkur, Larkana, Multan, Lyallpur, Daudkhel, Rawalpindi, etc. Similarly, the flow of Baluch tribes into Sind has not yet stopped.

The people of Punjab are also flowing out in small numbers into Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP. They have either acquired lands or doing business in other provinces.

Baluchistan and NWFP, in turn, are not free from influx from further west—there being a constant flow of Powindas and others from Afghanistan.

It is generally believed that the Powindas go back after winter season. But this is not so; several of them remain behind. It would be of interest to note that many of our distinguished personalities are Powindas and recent immigrants from Iran and Afghanistan. Maulana Mufti Mahmud, a leader of Jamiat-ul-ulamai Islam comes from the Naaser tribe of Powindas. Gandapurs of D.I. Khan are Powindas. From his mother's side, Mr. Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, a leader of National Awmi Party is an Iranian Powinda. Some of his maternal relations are still in Iran. General Mohammad Musa, former C-in-C of the Pakistan Army belongs to the Hazara tribe of Afghanistan; his father had migrated from Afghanistan and settled in Quetta. General Yahya Khan, former President of Pakistan is a Qizilbash from northern Iran whose family had settled in Peshawar. That the process of the settlement of Powinda families has not yet stopped in NWFP and Baluchistan is proved by the fact that in 1972 the NAP Government of Baluchistan put restrictions on their permanent settlement in the Quetta Division. This measure was strongly resented by the Pakhtoon leader, Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, on the ground that it was aimed at the Pakhtun elements of Baluchistan's population.

An august personality who deserves mention in this context is the first lady of Pakistan, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, wife of President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. She is a 'Kurd' from Kirmanshah in Iran and belongs to the tribe which produced the illustrious Muslim general and monarch Sultan Salahuddin Ayubi. Pakistan is indeed fortunate to have its first lady from the kith and kin of a soldier of whom the entire Muslim world is proud.

There are many other groups and individuals in Pakistan who have recently arrived from Iran and Afghanistan and the process continues.

In this fluid situation, would the protagonists of four nationalities theory agree to have the provincial boundaries re-demarcated, with resulting restrictions on the flow of population from one province to another? It would not only be impractical but outrageous and harmful to each one of the so-called nationalities, spelling their economic ruin.

With the process of migration still in progress and the final population pattern yet to take definite shape and form; with the so-called nationalities inter-mingled with each other in every province; and with each nationality carrying within its fold distinct sub-nationalities, it is simply ridiculous and mocking to talk of four nationalities. It has neither historical background nor geographical roots nor racial or linguistic basis. The idea is

irrational, illogical and anomalous. Its implementation would be politically tragic and economically disastrous for all the four.

Pakistan is one of the few countries in the world whose provincial boundaries cannot be demarcated on the basis of nationalities because of the intermingling of various racial and linguistic groups with each other. In fact nationalities in the true sense of the word do not exist in Pakistan in clearly demarcated areas as they do in India, USSR, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Canada, etc.

From Karakoram to Karachi, Pakistan is a solid land mass with distinct geographical boundaries; inhabited by people of same racial stock, having a common history, heritage, dress and diet; pursuing the same religion, with Urdu understood by all and regional languages having a common script. Very few nations in the world possess such strong uniting factors as the people of Pakistan. Centrifugal and separatist tendencies that are at present being highlighted by outside powers in collaboration with a few so-called leaders, have hardly any roots in the masses. The people of Pakistan, irrespective of the province they belong to, think and act alike. Separatist tendencies have not even touched them; they are simple, religious-minded, hard-working innocent folk. They regard themselves firstly Muslims, secondly, Pakistanis and thirdly, their allegiance is to the tribe they bel ›ng to. Four nationalties concept does not form part of their thught-pattern.

TAXILA / ISLAMABAD : SIGNIFICANCE

Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, is situated in the vicinity of Taxila which has an exceptional importance and a unique place in our history, having been the seat of government of a number of dynasties and also the centre of learning for centuries. In fact it is round Taxila that the early history of Pakistan revolves. The city is named after a tribe called Taka which lived in the pre-christian era.

There is a village in Punjab called Shah Deri, twenty miles north-west of Rawalpindi. The first person to identify it as Taxila of the Graeco-Bactrian and Kushan fame was Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham. The excavations carried out by Sir George Marshall in 1912-13 confirmed this view.

There are believed to be three different towns built at different periods which together constitute the historical city of Taxila. The first town, today known as Bhir Mound, is considered to have been built as early as the 5th century B.C. (2500 years ago) by the Persian King Darius of the Achaemenean (Kayani) dynasty when most of Pakistan formed its 20th satrapy (Province). Taxila was the capital of this province. Three hundred years later, in the 2nd century B.C., the Graeco-Bactrian King Demetrius conquered Taxila (190 B.C.), made it his capital and built the second city in the vicinity of the old one which is today called 'Sirkap'. This city flourished for over three hundred years under the Bactrian Greeks, and later under the Sakas and Parthians. It was the golden period of Taxila's and Pakistan's history when, as an independent state, it flourished and prospered with art and education receiving great impetus.

The most glorious period for Taxila, however, was ushered in by the Kushans—70 A.D.—400 A.D. Though Kushan capital was Peshawar, their king Vima Kadpheses took keen interest in Taxila and rebuilt the city at another site now called Sirsukh, about two miles north-west of the 2nd city. The great Kushan Emperor, Kanishka, made it the Queen of the East, embellishing the city with superb works of art and architecture. Most of the pieces of art now being recovered belong to this period which is known in the annals of history as the Gandhara civilization. When the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien visited Taxila in about 400 A.D. he found it a rich and flourishing city. This third and last city of Taxila was destroyed in the 5th century A.D. by theWhite Huns. Another Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsang who visited Pakistan in 630 A.D. found Taxila a mere heap of ruins.

It was during the Buddhist Emperor Kanishka's reign that Taxila became one of the greatest centres of Buddhist religion. Several stupas of Buddhism have been found and remains of monasteries are scattered all over. Most of the stupas yielded deposits of bones of ancient Buddhist saints. South-east of Taxila is the tope of Manikyale, identified by Cunningham as one of the four great stupas mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien. It is the largest stupa in the sub-continent.

Taxila has grown up as a great centre of learning from as early as the time of the Persian Kings. This tradition continued for centuries. The well-known Hindu grammarian and scholar Pannini was brought up and taught at Taxila. Kautilya, the famous author of Artha Shastra who became the Prime Minister of Chandra Gupta Maurya, was a native of Taxila. The historians who accompanied Alexander to Pakistan have mentioned Taxila as a centre of learning where people from far off places gathered to receive education in religion, medicine, astronomy and literature. It was then the capital of a small kingdom comprising of the region between Indus and Jhelum.

"About ten miles north-west from where Rawalpindi now stands stood in the 4th century B.C. the City of Takshacila, long eminent among the cities of India as a great seat of learning."[1]

During the days of the Mauryan Empire, Taxila was the capital of its western province comprising all the territories now constituting Pakistan and most of Afghanistan. "Under the Mauryan dynasty Taxila remained the capital of the great viceroyalty, which extended from Sutlej to the Hindu Kush and probably included Sind."[2] This province of the Mauryan Empire was considered so important that only heir-apparents to the throne were sent here as governors. Chandra Gupta Maurya's son Bindusara, his son Asoka, and Asoka's son Kunala had, in turn, received this assignment. According to Buddhist traditions, towards the end of his life Asoka left the throne to become a monk at Taxila and died here in 232 B.C.

Taxila's dual role as seat of government and centre of learning and religion continued uninterrupted throughout its existence. In 40 A.D. St. Thomas, a companion of Jesus Christ is said to have visited Taxila when Gondopharnes, the Parthian king was its ruler. Large number of Buddhist monks lived here to acquire knowledge and spread the teachings of their religion to other countries. It was from here that Buddhism spread to Kashmir and Tibet during Asoka's time. Tibetans as such, regard Taxila

1. *The Cambridge History of India, By* E.J. Rapson.
2. *Imperial Gazetteer of India.*

among the holiest cities of Buddhism. The great Buddhist monks of Taxila, Kasyapa Matanga, Dharma Ratna and Kumara Jivan took the message of Buddh to Central Asia and China.

Taxila was also an important centre of trade and industry. All the transit trade from Central Asia to the sub-continent passed through this city. The excavations at Taxila enable us to conclude that the level of the local craftsmanship and, in particular, iron-making was very high: nearly all tools and weapons as early as the fourth century B.C. were made of iron. That the people used iron weapons, *e.g.,* iron headed arrows, is also attested by the ancient historians.

"Another line of evidence in support of the high level of economic development and, in particular, commodity-money relations, in the north-western part of the sub-continent is the fact that it is here that the first so-called punch-marked coins in the fifth century B.C. appeared earlier than anywhere in India. It is worthwhile to note that this medium of exchange was of quite independent nature. Its shape (oblong or square) exercised later on an influence on Greek-Indian emission and its weight standard on the coins issued by the Hellenistic rulers of Bactria. That these coins were in wide circulation as early as the fourth century B.C. is attested by Gurtius' words that the king of Taxila presented to Alexander, among other gifts, silver coins worth 80 talents. At the same time, the abundance of copper coins unearthed at the excavations of this city indicates that money circulation had penetrated even retail commodity turnover."[3]

This is what Plutarch wrote about the state of Taxila: "The lands Taxila possessed were....remarkable for their high fertility and excellent grazing grounds." (Plutrach, Alexander, 59).

This area seems to have been an important centre of human activity even in the stone age. "By various methods scientists have by something more than guesswork, been able to ascribe old stone (or palaeolithic) implements, such as have been found in Pakistan, to a period as unbelievably remote as half a million years ago. These stone implements have been discovered particularly in the ancient "terraces" of the river Sohan or Soan, near Rawalpindi.[4]

"The most primitive implements found in Pakistan and India are eoliths unearthed in the Potwar plateau in the valleys of the Soan river (Pindi Distt.), Jhelum river and the tributaries of the Chenab river. More

3. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By.* Yu. V. Gankovsky.
4. *Pakistan before the Aryans, By* Sir Mortimer Wheeler (Pakistan Miscellany).

advanced tools have been found in the valley of the Soan and Indus river."[5]

"Like Rawalpindi today, Takshacila guarded the chief gate of India from the north-west: it was the first great Indian city at which merchants who had come down the Kabul Valley and crossed the Indus about Attock arrived, three days' journey beyond the river. Its ruler was the first among the kings of the Punjab to hear any tidings which might come down from the highlands of Afghanistan of events happening behind those tremendous mountain walls."[6]

"The situation of Taxila in a pleasant valley, amply supplied with water, well adapted for defence, and lying on the highroad from central Asia to the interior of India, was admirably suited for the site of a great city. The remains of the ancient capital, or rather series of successive capitals, gradually shifted from south to north, cover a space of at least twelve miles to Hasan Abdal and several other villages situated about twenty miles to the north-west of Rawalpindi, which is the strategical representative of Taxila. The line of the ancient highway has been followed by the Grand Trunk Road and the North-Western Railway."[7]

In known history Taxila was invariably the capital of Pakistan whether this region was the province of a larger empire or an independent kingdom. Following brief account will bear it out:

1. Taxila was capital of Pakistan in 5th century B.C. when it was a province of the Kayani Empire of Iran.
2. Taxila was capital of the state comprising of areas between Indus and Jhelum when Alexander attacked Pakistan in 325 B.C. Raja Ambhi was the ruler of this state.
3. Taxila was capital of Pakistan when it was a province of the Mauryan Empire from about 300 B.C.—200 B.C.
4. Taxila was the capital of the independent state of Pakistan under the Greaco-Bactrian rule 200-100 B.C.
5. Taxila was the capital of independent Pakistan under the Sakas in 100 B.C.—40 A.D.
6. Taxila was the capital of independent Pakistan during the brief rule of the Parthians in the first century of the Christian era.

5. *The Peoples of Pakistan, By* Yu. V. Gankovsky.
6. *The Cambridge History of India, By* E.J. Rapson.
7. *Oxford History of India, By* V.A. Smith.

7. Though Taxila was the second capital during the Kushan period (70 A.D. 400 A.D.) it out-shone their capital Peshawar, and was made the centre of art and learning by Emperors Kanishka and Huvishka.

Taxila was the most important city of Pakistan from the 5th century B.C. to the 5th century A.D., a period of 1000 years. Having been destroyed by the White Huns in 460 A.D. it remained desolate and buried ever since. It has again risen into prominence, fifteen hundred years later, in 1960, when construction work on the new capital of Pakistan started at Islamabad which can be termed as the 4th city of Taxila.

The first city, Bhir Mound, was built by a Persian Emperor, probably Darius, of the Kayani dynasty in the 5th century B.C.; the second, Sirkap, by the Graeco-Bactrian King Demetrius in the 2nd century B.C.; the third Sirsukh, by the Kushan King Vima Kadphises in the first century A.D. and the 4th, Islamabad, by Mohammad Ayub Khan in the 20th century A.D.

The area in which Taxila/Islamabad are situated has immense strategic importance. Even during the days of the British, Rawalpindi in the vicinity of Taxila, was made an important military centre. Its northern routes connect it through Kashmir, to Sinkiang and China; western routes through Afghanistan to central Asian Turkistan which is now part of USSR; its eastern marches via Lahore lead to the plains of the Ganges; while in the south it dominates the land mass up to the Arabian sea. In short, Islamabad-Taxila region has a commanding position and strategic control over a wide region.

An important point to be noted in this context is that all the dynasties which had their seat of government here ruled over vast areas spreading beyond the Hindu Kush upto the Oxus in the north-west and down the plains of the Punjab upto the Gangetic valley in the east. Islamabad-Taxila region has nourished strong powers and nurtured great civilizations which have had long and durable existence.

CONCLUSION

It would be appropriate to conclude this chapter with a note on the ideology of Pakistan. Though much has been written on this subject during the last quarter of a century, as already stated in the introduction, yet, clarification of certain points requires a reiteration of the ideological content.

It has been conclusively established in this book that an overwhelming majority of the Afghans/Pathans, Kashmiris, Punjabis, Sindhis and Baluchis are descendants of the four main racial stocks of Sakas, Kushans, White Huns and Gujjars. One may, with reasonable plausibility ask that since Hindu counterparts of these same races are spread eastward as far as western U.P. and Rajputana, do they also form part of Pakistani nation?

The answer is a definite no. Here comes in religion or ideology which sharply and distinctly separates a Hindu Rajput from a Muslim Rajput, a Hindu Jat from a Muslim Jat, a Hindu Gujjar from a Muslim Gujjar and so on and so forth. This demarcation carries a world of difference within its bosom—a different thought-orientation, a different culture-pattern, a different outlook both physical and metaphysical; an attitude to life and hereafter diametrically opposed to each other.

The two streams have refused to merge, mix, blend and combine. All conscious efforts to fuse them have failed and all unconscious and unseen forces working towards their synthesis have disappeared in the dark recesses of history. The exertions of such intellectual giants as Kabir, Akber, Abul Fazl, Faizi, Dara Shikoh and a host of lesser luminaries failed to create even the faintest impression on Muslim mind. Hussain Shah, ruler of Gauda (Bengal) who originated the cult of Satya Pir—common god of Hindus and Muslims—could hardly produce any results.

Hinduism has been noted for and praised by many a western writer for its sponge-like quality of absorbing foreign races and religions which invaded this sub-continent and settled down in its alluring environment and enervating climate. They are said to have been overwhelmed by the all-pervading spirit of Hindu Dharma and were never able to free themselves from its warm and winning embrace.

But Islam disproved this theory to the hilt. Instead of yielding any ground (except on some minor cultural points) it made Hinduism yield, bend and break. Millions left that so-called all-embracing fold of Hindu social order and that all-pervading force of Hindu Dharma and swelled

the ranks of Islam......It was indeed a great success for Islam to have snatched away such a large segment of population from the Hindu fold and moulded it into a separate nation. Those very elements who were expected to absorb Islam and change its norm and form are today its most faithful adherents. Islam has done the impossible in this sub-continent—it has triumphed over forces which had trounced others.

Geo-political compulsions did the rest. The Indus Valley and the Padma-Meghna Delta which have invariably remained independent of the Hindu-dominated Gangetic Valley, provided homelands to these new Muslims. These converted Muslims of Pakistan and Bangla Desh stand as symbols of Islam's defiance of Hindu chauvinism; a colossal proof of Hindu failure to absorb and subdue Islam.

But the encounter is only half way through; the bout is still unfinished. Both the brotherly states in the eastern and western wings of the sub-continent are still menaced by Indian expansionist designs. They need perpetual vigilance and perpetual preparedness to preserve their independence.

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